



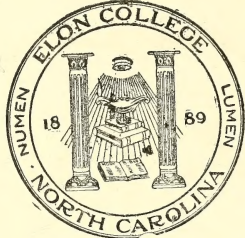
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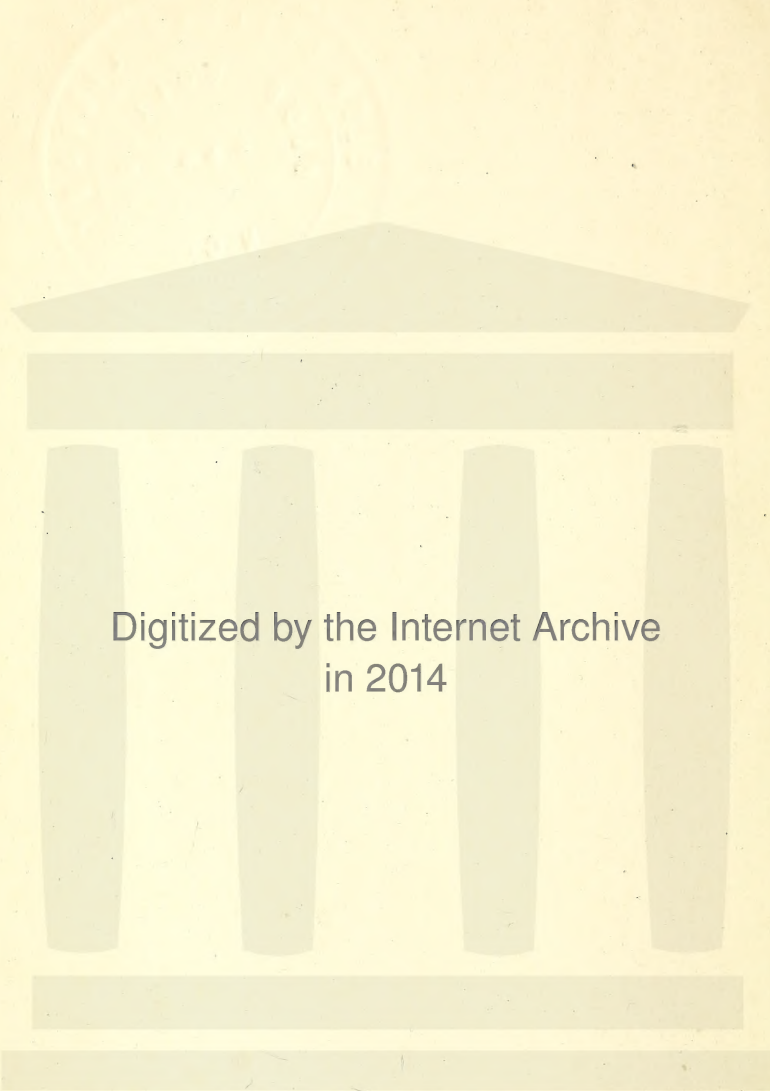
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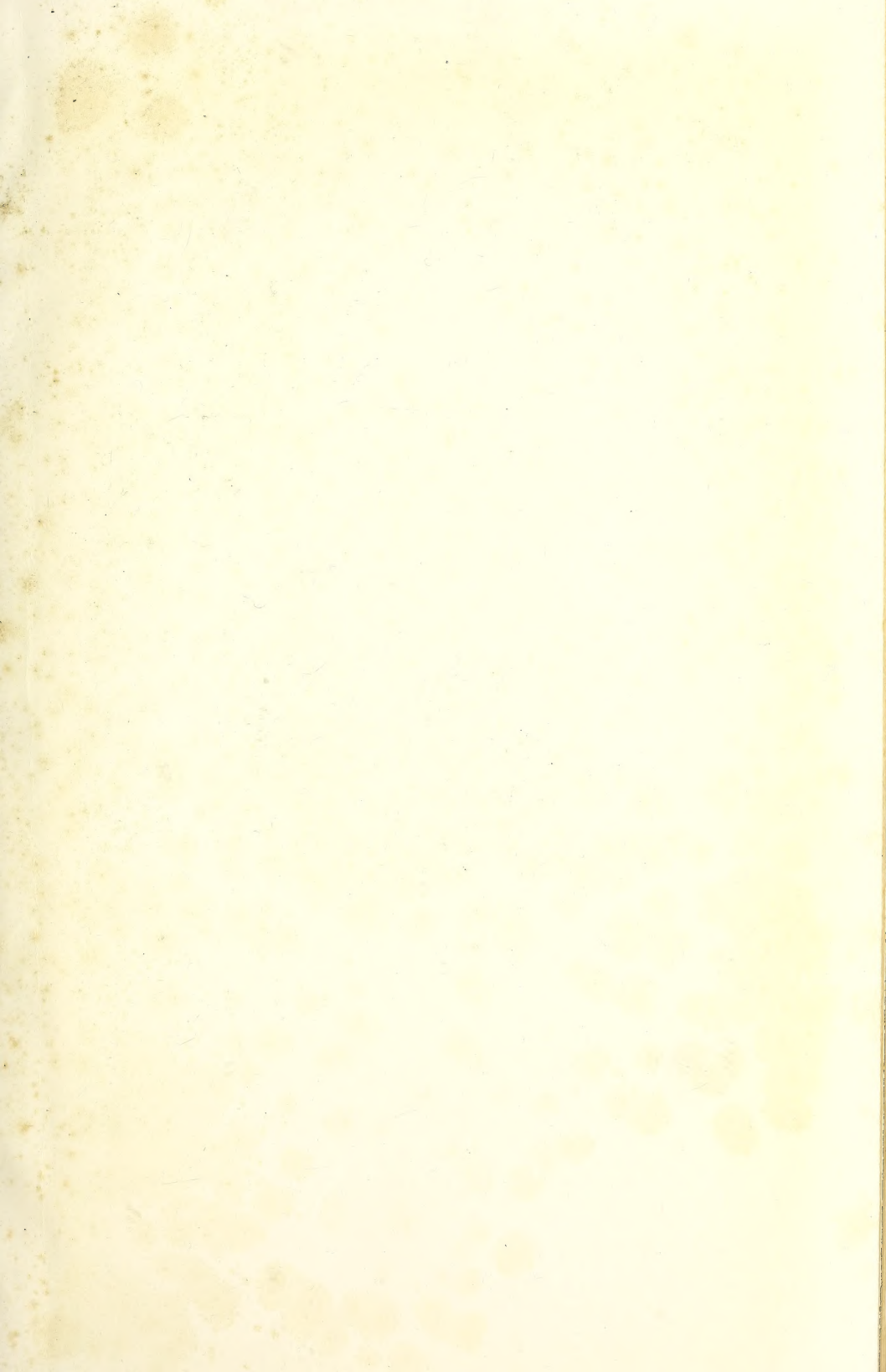
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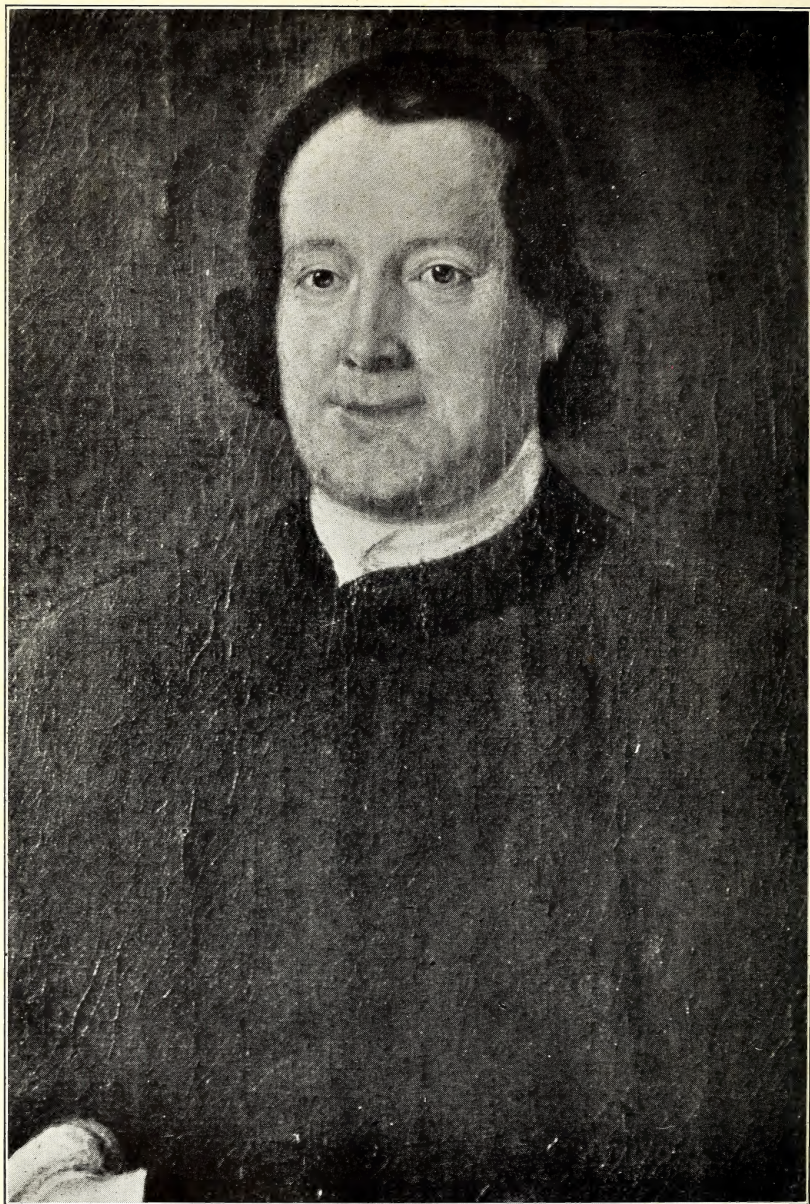


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JOHN MICHAEL GRAFF, BISHOP, PASTOR, DIARIST OF WACHOVIA
From a portrait in the Archives of Bethlehem, Pa.; probably painted by
John Valentine Haidt

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

RECORDS OF THE MORAVIANS IN NORTH CAROLINA

EDITED BY
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SOUTHERN PROVINCE

VOLUME II
1752-1775

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

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FOREWORD

The first volume of this series, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, 1752-1771*, gave a brief outline of the history of the Unitas Fratrum, beginning with its organization in Bohemia in 1457 by followers of the Reformer, John Hus; noting its reorganization in Herrnhut, Saxony, 1722-1727, by emigrants from Moravia, descendants of members of the Ancient Unity of Brethren, and heirs to its traditions, doctrines, discipline and Episcopate; and touching on its spread in continental Europe, the beginning of its world-wide foreign mission work, the temporary settlement in Georgia, and the start of their permanent settlements in England and Pennsylvania.

Then the volume took up in detail the journey of Bishop Spangenberg and his party across North Carolina in search of suitable land for a new Moravian settlement; and followed this with a full account of the first eighteen years of Wachovia, as the 98,985 acre tract and the settlement thereon were both called.

This first volume contained an edited translation of the Memorabilia and Diaries of Wachovia, giving the story so far as possible in continuous form, interrupted as little as might be by the introduction of collateral material. The interest aroused by this simple narrative, however, has brought up the question of whether there was additional material which should be printed. By way of answer it may be said that of the additional papers of this period in the Salem Archives few require insertion, though there are signatures of historic value, for the Brethren in North Carolina maintained a steady correspondence with Bethlehem, Pa., and the Church Boards in Europe, and the names of many leaders of the Unity are found in the collection of letters, even though the absence of postal facilities prevented the number of letters filed from being actually very large. Apart from their personal interest these letters contain advice asked and given, negotiations for the filling of various offices, recommendations sent and directions received, and in so far as they affected the general life of the Moravians in North Carolina they are mirrored in the Diaries, so that in most cases it is unnecessary to make more than this passing mention of them. But a few letters of special import, certain extracts that seem of value, have been selected; and to these have been added certain other letters, papers, and extracts, which were sent from Salem to Bethlehem, and are on file in the Archives there, and which have been selected and translated by the editor during a visit made to that city for this especial purpose.

This volume, therefore, falls into four sections. First, the publication of what the early settlers would have called the *Beilagen* to Vol. I,—that is the additional material belonging to the period 1752-1771. Second, an outline history of the colonial currency of North Carolina; editorial sketches of the Wright and Richmond Court-Houses, where the business of Surry County was transacted from 1771 to 1789; and also a translation of the introductory part of the Bagge MS., with its vivid picture of the incidents and conditions leading up to the Revolutionary War. Third, the continuation of the Records of the Moravians, Memorabilia, Diaries, Minute Books, etc.—with their constant reference to the affairs of the Colony at large, and to the events that led Carolina and the other English Colonies in America into the struggle for Independence and through the years of war and its uncertainties. And fourth, the Bagge Papers, for whose preservation this generation has much to thank the merchant of that early and troubled day.

PART I
ADDITIONAL MATERIAL
1752-1771

[The Spangenberg Papers, preserved in the Salem Archives, consist of parts of two sets, one being Spangenberg's original field notes, written at one and another camp, as he and his little party traveled on horseback from Bethlehem, Pa., to Edenton, N. C., thence westward to the Blue Ridge, back to the three forks of Muddy Creek, and through Virginia to Bethlehem again, the other being fair copies thereof, made by some scribe "for the Conference." The Bethlehem Archives own the complements of the Salem sets—where Salem has the originals Bethlehem has the copies, and where Bethlehem has the originals the copies are in Salem. Bethlehem, moreover, has most of a third set, copied by Spangenberg himself at camp on his return trip, signed by Spangenberg and Antes, and sent to headquarters with a letter by the first good opportunity, February 17, 1753. The Bethlehem collection has a few papers that are not in Salem, which are here given, with the exception of two or three unimportant letters written after his return to Europe.]

*Extract from a Letter, Cossart to Spangenberg, Dated London,
January 27, 1752.*

Concerning Carolina—it is resolved that we shall take 100,000 acres; My Lord Granville does it as a favor for he does not usually allow more than 640 acres to one family.

About taking up 100,000 Acres of Land in North Carolina.

[English. Neither date nor signature are given.]

1) It seems that Br. Spangenberg should take Henry Antes, Jacob Lösch, Franz Blum, or any other Brother that is a good and solid Judge about the Soil and its Fertility, about the Climate and its Effects upon the European Inhabitants and their way of cultivating and manuring the Lands, and go with them to North Carolina Himself and enquire of many of the nearest Neighbours to the Spot to be taken up the Circumstances of the Country and collect as much as possible all the Advantageous and Disadvantageous Moments with Respect to the above Settlement.

2) In picking out 100,000 Acres of Land they should lay it out four Square so that 100,000 Acres of Land should make a Square of

about a little more than 12 Miles Square, through the middle of which should run the River on which they take it, so that of course no body would live above six Miles from the said River, and also from the Center of the said 100,000 Acres, where, namely in the Center, also the Town or Orts Gemeine could be built, and so the Inhabitants of the farthest Limits of that Land would not be above 2 Hours moderate Walk, and one Hours moderate Ride from the Orts Gemeine.

3) One Condition in taking up the said Land should be that the Government should make it a Township for itself, and no Parish to be erected there but that of our Church.

4) If there cannot be found such a Spot of Ground of 12 Miles Square without many 1,000 Acres of barren Land interwoven with it, they should at least take up so near together as possible, having cut out the barren Land from our 100,000 Acres.

To Francis Corbin & James Innes, Esquires, my Agents & Commissioners for the granting out or disposing of my lands, etc., in North Carolina at Edenton in the said Province, or to either of them, etc.

[Copy. English.]

Whereas the Lord Advocate, the Chancellor and the Agent of the Unitas Fratrum have contracted with me for a Grant of One Hundred Thousand Acres of Land within my District in the said Province of North Carolina, and have desired my Warrant to have the same surveyed in distinct or contiguous Parcels; Now I do hereby require you, or either of you, forthwith on Receipt hereof to Issue out a Warrant of Survey to one or more Surveyors in the County of Anson, or elsewhere in my District as shall be convenient; Thereby commanding Him or Them immediately on Receipt thereof to proceed in conjunction with the Bearer of this Warrant, to survey and set out to the said Lord Advocate, Chancellor & Agent of the Unitas Fratrum according to the option and direction of such Person or Persons as shall be employed by them for that Purpose One Hundred Thousand Acres of Vacant Land in the said County or Elsewhere as aforesaid, (not in the possession of or claimed by any Person or Persons whatsoever), in several distinct or contiguous Plats or Parcels and fronting as much as possible a Navigable River (Each not containing more than five thousand acres at most) in the manner and form as is practised.—Three just and fair Plans of every such distinct Plat or Parcell so surveyed in pursuance thereof must be returned to you as soon as possible, For

which you are to take care that the said Surveyors do charge no more for surveying the said Lands than Three Pounds Sterling for every Five Thousand Acres. And do you, or one of you, transmit to me the said several Surveys by the first safe opportunity. And for your so doing this shall be your Warrant. Witness my hand the twenty-fifth Day of March one thousand seven hundred and fifty two.

Granville.

Copy of a letter from Spangenberg to Count Zinzendorf.

[Translated in full.]

Edenton, Sept. 16, 1752.

Through Mr. Francis Corbin to
the Lord Advocate.

Tenderly beloved and honored Jünger,—

It is truly a privilege that I can write to you from Carolina on this day¹ which is so noteworthy for us, especially as I can tell you that our dear Lord and God has been so kind to us in this place that we might well prostrate ourselves in the dust before Him. Last Sunday I arrived here, in company with Henrich Antes, Esq., Timothy Horsefield, Esq., Joseph Müller, Herman Lösch, and John Mörch [Merk]. Mr. Francis Corbin, My Lord Granville's Agent, welcomed us the same evening, and talked pleasantly and instructively, giving us all the information about this Colony that we could wish. He had been informed of our coming, and had already made arrangements for our speedy departure, having a Surveyor in town of whose honesty he professed himself to be assured. At the same time he begged us not to hurry, but to rest a while in Edenton, for our own sakes and on account of our horses, which indeed we found desirable, not only because we had already traveled 450 miles but also because heavy rains made the roads almost impassable. He sent our horses to his farm where there is a good pasture, such as we have not found since leaving Philadelphia, for the lower counties in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and in Virginia also, have had a very dry summer, and everything is burned up,—at some places we could find neither grass nor oats nor corn nor anything else for our horses. We have spent this week in Edenton, and have provided ourselves with tents and other things which we will need in the forest. I have had opportunity to spend

¹ On September 16, 1741, a conference of leaders of the Unitas Fratrum abolished the office of Chief Elder among themselves, and formally recognized the Lord Jesus Christ as the only Chief Elder of the Unity of Brethren. On November 13th of the same year this action was formally announced to all the congregations of the Brethren within reach; more distant congregations were formally notified on November 13th in subsequent years.

several hours conversing with Mr. Corbin. He is very busy, being not only My Lord Granville's Agent but also Judge of the Court of Admiralty and of the Supreme Court, not to speak of other employments; however, almost every day I have spent some hours with him, which was to my advantage. He is a walking encyclopedia concerning North Carolina affairs, is capable, polite, and very obliging. I have also spoken with him on religious matters and find that while he is not of our faith he yet wishes, according to his lights, to do something to help the people of this land, and so each Sunday he has a sermon read, and something from the Book of Common Prayer. Yesterday I attended a Court of Admiralty, held on account of a ship which appeared to be liable to confiscation, and I must say that in America I have never seen a Court conducted in so thorough and orderly a manner. In short I think My Lord Granville has in him a capable Agent, the Governor a wise Councilor, and the land a just Judge. Our humble Respects to My Lord Granville for his Recommendations to this man, who, so far as I can judge, is an honor to him.

Now concerning our affairs in particular. We plan to leave day after tomorrow, early in the morning. Mr. Churton goes with us as Surveyor, taking with him orders from Mr. Corbin to two other surveyors living in that direction who are to serve with him in the matter. People say generally that it is about 400 miles to the region where we shall look for land. We see in advance that this distance will be a serious matter for a new colony of our Brethren, (not to speak of the expense,) as there is no regular means of transportation thither by land or water, but we will go and see, and hope for good success. The one consideration which encourages us to go on with a plan, in which nobody here sees anything except difficulties, is that if we settle far to the west, on the frontier, we can probably secure our own Parish and County, by Act of Assembly, and through My Lord Granville's interest may be exempted for some years from the Poll Tax which falls so heavily on new Colonies.

Further particulars I postpone until our journey is ended, and meanwhile remain, with hearty love and respect.

J. Spbg.

A Travel Schedule.

[Translated in full.]

Our journey from John Sally to Edcock.....	15 miles,
Edcock to Partrick Bogin's.....	15 "
Bogin's to Sennett.....	8 "

Our journey from Sennet to Mepern.....	18	miles
Maprin to Haw River.....	8	"
Haw River to Dutchman's.....	15	"
Dutchman's to Reed's at Polecat.....	18	"
Reed's to Rich's on Caraway.....	22	"
Rich's to Smith's.....	26	"
Smith's to Atkin.....	6	"
Atkin to Cartie's	20	"
Cartie's to Lambert's.....	24	"
Lambert's to Morris', about northwest..	16	"
Morris' to Parrot's on Catawba River mostly west	10	"
Parrot to Little River, about northwest ..	10	"
From Camp on Little River to the forks of Little River, about north.....	4	"

*Expense Account in North Carolina, from John Sallis' on, and
back to Pennsylvania.*

In Virginia Currency.

To John Sallis', where we lay sick.....	8:12:0
"trinkgeld" to his servants.....	5:9
John Edcock, tavern keeper.....	19:9
Patrick Bogen " "	3:2:5
horse-shoeing	3:0
tempering our hatchets.....	1:3
Capt. Sennet, for sacking, yarn, etc.....	12:8
horse-shoeing	3:0
Alexander Meborn	10:9
George Glapp	3:0
tavern keeper	3:0
Joh. Rich, tavern keeper	2:5:5
George Schmidt	10:9
George Corthy	10:9
Kittels	1:3
Andrew Lambert, for provisions	3:13:4
Marrisson	5:9
William Jordan, a present	10:9
Hogin, for leather	1:3
Mr. Owen, for provisions	2:16:9
Peter Fisch and Maur	9:6
Robert Sweeting	3:0

Expense account— <i>Continued</i>	<i>In Virginia Currency</i>
To Owen, Sr. and Jr.	4: 3: 0
Krämer, for linen, etc.	1: 7: 8
Dr. Barker	10: 9
Mr. Altem	2:15: 8
Elik Nelson and John West	15: 0
12 Pistreens to William Churton for Br. Horsefield..	15: 0
James Allison	16: 5
Mr. Wilson	2: 8
Mr. Churton, for interest	1: 1: 6
Capt. Sennet for Br. Horsefield	15:10: 9
again to Capt. Sennet for supplies	2: 7: 9
Gibson, for butter	1: 0
Mattheus Moy, butter, etc.	5:15: 6
night lodging there	5: 9
John Sallis	5: 9
Capt. Michel, for a horse, etc.	8:19: 3
Ferry across the Roanoke	3: 3
Mr. Witton's negro	1: 3
William Cheeter	2: 0
Mr. Allis	7: 0
horse-shoeing, sugar, and rum	11: 8
Wilson, at Amelia Court-House	15:10
Ferry across James River	2: 0
Mr. Morris	2: 0
Mr. Chilton's tavern	10: 9
John Holleday	5: 9
Mr. Samson	1: 8
in Fridrichsburg to tavern and for chocolate	1: 8: 9
and to negro boys	7½
across Rappananock ferry	2: 6
John Uewan	7: 0
across ferry	2: 0
Backis	1: 7
William Hordin	6: 6
across Pattomak ferry	2: 8
Mr. Makerute's negro boy	1: 3
for butter	1: 0
Edward Prissy	3: 0
Henry Day, a hunter	10:11: 9

Expense account—*Continued**In Virginia Currency*

To John Perkin, a hunter	9:17: 0
John Roads, a hunter	12: 4: 4
repaid to Br. Joseph in Lancaster	1:12: 9

 £111:10:10

Against the above Account I have received from Br. Joseph [Spangenberg], in Virginia currency:—

1) at John Sallis',—24 pistoles, at 21 sh. 6d, per pistole...	25:16: 0
2) Oct. 8, 1752, 15 pistoles.....	16: 2: 6
3) at Dr. Barker's, 12 pistoles.....	12:18: 0
4) at Mr. Watson's, 4½ pistoles.....	4:16: 9
5) through William Churton, 30 pistoles.....	32: 5: 0
6) at Capt. Michel's, 5 guineas.....	6:10: 0
7) sold the tent for.....	1: 0: 0

 £ 99: 8: 3

Spent of my own money, 11 pistoles and one dollar.....	12: 2: 3
--	----------

 £111:10: 6

J. HEINRICH ANTES.

Br. Joseph Müller's brief report of his North Carolina journey and his return to Bethlehem with Br. Horsefield. Written Jan. 25, 1753.

[Translated in full. Müller was the only one of Spangenberg's company who was not affected by the malarial fever; he had some knowledge of medicine, and acted as nurse for the party. His account supplements the Spangenberg Diary.]

We left Bethlehem, Aug. 25th, and Philadelphia, Aug. 29th, and were thirteen days on the journey to Edenton, where we spent a week, partly on account of rain, and partly on account of the surveyor, who could not leave sooner.

Monday, Sept. 18. We left Edenton, all in good health. I said to Br. Joseph that I thanked the Saviour we were leaving; "Yes," he answered, "and that none of us have taken the fever, for it is said no one can stay there two weeks without taking it." That day we journeyed to Mr. Whitemeal, to whom we had been directed, for he is

the mouth of the Tuscaroras. He received us kindly. That evening Timothy Horsefield complained of headache.

Tuesday, Sept. 19. Mr. Whitemeal went with us to the Tuscaroras; we reached there about noon; they received us pleasantly, and Br. Joseph spoke to them as he desired. Meanwhile a little old mother prepared the noon meal, we had a kettle full of corn on the cob, salt, and afterwards water-melons, they also made punch for us to drink. Br. Merk complained much of headache. Mr. Whitemeal then conducted us to the right road, and took friendly leave of us. At night we stopped with a farmer.

Wednesday, Sept. 20. We crossed the Roanoke; there Henry Antes began to complain that he was not well.

Thursday, Sept. 21. Fever developed in Br. Merk and Henry Antes and they were quite ill; but we rode on.

Friday, Sept. 22. Henry Antes was very ill; he had to get off his horse several times, and vomited freely. We were joined by a man who rode with us fourteen days; he took us into his house, and Antes and Merk went to bed. The man made us welcome in his home.

Saturday, Sept. 23. It rained heavily. Herman Loesch developed fever. Timothy complained constantly of his eyes, and his head ached so badly that he could not sleep. Soon the fever gripped him also; and there lay four of our Brethren sick. Br. Joseph and I consulted anxiously as to what we could do for medicine; I said they unquestionably needed a purge, but we had none with us. We were told of a root, which the Saviour blessed to our use. The fever made the Brethren so sick that they could do nothing to help themselves. I was their nurse, but had little to feed them; the man was very poor, but kindly. He rode out and bought for us what he could find, chickens and butter, but we had no bread with which to make a proper broth. I would gladly have given a pistole for a loaf of such bread as we have in Bethlehem. Br. Joseph was still well, and Merk began to improve a little.

Friday, 29th and Saturday, 30th. There was heavy rain; Br. Joseph took a little cold during the night.

Sunday, Oct. 1. I could see that Br. Joseph was not quite well. That evening he had a chill, and was obliged to go to bed; it changed to fever, and soon he was almost delirious. He burned like a heated stove, and would take no medicine, saying: "I am the Saviour's and perhaps he will now take me to Himself; should He do this it would be to prove that He is not dependent on men, but alone acts for the Unity, and does what He will." He also told me what I should do if

the Saviour took him to Himself,—namely, that when the Brethren had recovered we should go on together, and do the work to which the Saviour had called us, “For I know,” said he, “that the Saviour will be with you, for it is a great work, and the Saviour has been much consulted about it.” It touched us greatly, for he believed that he would go home. I went into the woods and talked it over with the Saviour, and begged Him, if it was His will, to give Br. Joseph back to us this time; and the Saviour assured my heart that Joseph should not now go home. I returned to the Brethren and said to them, “Do not weep, Br. Joseph will not be called home.” As his fever was so high, and he said over and over that his head was splitting open, I took napkins and soaked them in cool water, and laid them one after another on his head, which gave him some relief. His bowels also had not moved, and we told him he must take something to open them. So I cooked some of the roots we had used as a purgative for the other Brethren, he took it obediently, and it had a good result; his illness, however, did not begin to yield until the second Saturday.

Oct. 14. Br. Joseph seemed a little better. He said, “We will have a Sabbath Lovefeast for the Brethren,” so I made it ready, and he got up. We had a pleasant Lovefeast, and all the Brethren were better, except Br. Horsefield, who still had fever. Br. Joseph said, “On Monday we will start again.” Soon after the Lovefeast he became very weak, and had to lie down again; he stayed in bed all Sunday, and until Monday morning, not talking to us at all.

Oct. 16. Monday morning he raised himself in bed and asked, “What day is it?” I answered, “It is Monday, the day on which you said we should take up our journey.” He was much surprised and said, “Then I lost the Sunday; but now, let us go.” I thought he was delirious, but he insisted, saying he had been told by the Saviour that we should start. Henry Antes told him that he was still very weak, and that Timothy still had fever, and he wavered a little, but then again insisted, saying, “I have had a message from the Saviour; fear not, my Brethren, it will be a little difficult, but it will go.” So we saddled the horses and packed up; I lifted Joseph on his horse, and we set out together. We had gone only four miles when Joseph said, “You must make me a little tea;” I answered, “My Brother, I cannot make tea for you here, I have neither water nor fire.” A little later he said again, “Indeed, my Brother, I must have a little tea,” but I could not make it for him, and he became faint, and had to dismount. He wanted us to put up the tents, and camp there in the woods for the night, but we said it was better to return to our former lodging. He implored

us not to do that, not to take him back. Henry Antes and I explained to him that it was not possible to remain here over night, for the Brethren were still weak, Timothy still had fever, the ground was wet, and it was raining a little. We told him that one mile further along the road there was a little house, to which we would take him, and when he had revived a little we placed him on his horse and took him to the cabin. It was very small, so I stayed with Br. Joseph, and the other Brethren returned to our former lodging. Henry Antes and I agreed that early in the morning I should let him know whether to come and help move Br. Joseph, or whether we would continue our journey. I made a little tea for Joseph, and he lay quietly all night.

Oct. 17. Early in the morning I asked him whether he thought we should go on, or whether we should return to our former place? He said, "My Brother, we travel; again last night I had word from the Saviour that we should go on." Then, I said, I must let the Brethren know, and he dictated a note to Henry Antes; and they came. Joseph was very weak; I told him he must get up, the Brethren had come, and he said, "Let me rest a little longer." Finally I told him we really must start if we were to go, and he got up, and I dressed him, for he was too weak to help himself. We led him out, and seated him on his horse, and rode a couple of miles, and then had to lift him off again. I rubbed him with spirits, and gave him a little water to drink, and he revived; and so we journeyed through the day. When in the evening we reached a tavern he went immediately to bed; I made a little tea for him and Br. Horsefield; he would not drink, begged only that I would let him rest, but when I insisted he obeyed and drank a little. Timothy had fever again tonight.

Wednesday, Oct. 18. Br. Joseph was fairly bright this morning, and we continued on our way. It went a little better with Joseph than yesterday, but we often had to lift him from his horse and let him rest. Br. Merk had another attack of fever, with much vomiting. In the evening, in good time, we came to another tavern. Br. Joseph was of good courage, and said over and over to the Brethren, "Be comforted, it will soon go better." Tonight Timothy again had high fever; Joseph had a fairly quiet and comfortable night.

Thursday, Oct. 19. We traveled to Capt. Sennet's, where the Surveyor was waiting for us. Timothy was so weak that he said he could go no further. We rested a day to see whether Timothy would improve; Joseph began to eat a little. Seeing that Timothy was so weak and growing worse, Br. Joseph decided to go on with Henry Antes and the

other Brethren, and leave me with Timothy. The man at whose house we stayed while sick was traveling with us to see how things went. That Joseph and the others were to leave us made us very sad. Joseph thought that if Timothy were nursed for a week we could rejoin them; but he grew constantly worse until I doubted whether he would recover. He became much swollen, and no medicine seemed to have any effect. He asked me often, "What shall I do, my Brother?" I told him to turn to the Saviour, the only Physician who could help him; I too prayed the Saviour, with many tears, to put into his heart a willingness to submit all to Him, and the Saviour granted this prayer, so that Timothy told me he would no longer fight the fever but leave it to the Saviour,—if He would take it away from him it would be His doing, and if it were to be the occasion of his home-going he was content, for he would willingly go home. From that time on his fever decreased and his appetite returned.

Nov. 9. Three weeks from Br. Joseph's departure our former host returned from the forest, and told us that Br. Joseph had improved day by day as they journeyed, and had now quite recovered, and the other Brethren were well, and they had begun to survey land. Br. Joseph sent me word that if they stayed well, and their business was successful, it would take them till the end of January. I also learned that he had written to me twice, but I did not receive the letters. As Timothy's illness had lasted so long I decided that so soon as he was able to ride a horse we would go home.

Jan. 1. We left Capt. Sennet's, though Timothy was still so weak that he could not mount or dismount without assistance. I took zwieback, sugar, rye-meal and wine with us, so that each day I could prepare his meals, for he could not take strong food.

In Manakosy, Maryland, we stopped with Br. and Sr. Utley, and so it was all the way through Pennsylvania,—in Yorktown with Br. and Sr. Meurer, in Lancaster with Br. and Sr. Neusser, in Warwick with Br. and Sr. Rauch, in Oley with Br. and Sr. Michler, and in Maguntsche with Br. and Sr. Franke, who all received us with kindness, and took good care of us.

The Saviour so dealt with us that Timothy became a little stronger and better each day; so that having traveled from the 1st to the 25th of January, that is three weeks and four days, we reached Bethlehem safely, to our great joy and the joy of all our friends.

Letter, Spangenberg to Count Zinzendorf.

[Translated in full.]

On board the ship *John*, Captain Drew,

May 2, 1753.

The report of my expedition to North Carolina, and the necessary Beilagen, I have sent by Br. Toeltschig.

Since then I have been waiting for the Returns from My Lord Granville's Agent, Mr. Francis Corbin, but they had not come when I left.

Meanwhile I have placed in Mr. Daniel Benezet's hands the funds to cover my drafts on him, given to the Agent, Mr. Corbin, and the Surveyor, Mr. William Churton, so that they could be paid on demand,—I gave the drafts because I had no more money, and was authorized to draw on Mr. Benezet.

The £100: Sterling, which I received of Br. Benzien for the trip, was not enough to cover the cost of the journey to, through and from Carolina, and the wages of the hunters, whom I had for more than a quarter of a year, and the supplies needed for the expedition into the forest, so I was obliged to borrow thirty pistoles.

Br. Benzien offered to provide the funds necessary for Carolina, and I have written to him by Br. Toeltschig, asking that he at once furnish another £100: Sterling for this purpose.

As in all probability there will be much intercourse between Bethlehem and Carolina I have opened a *Carolina Account* on our books, which will show the Carolina debits and credits.

Before leaving I arranged with the Brethren in Bethlehem that as soon as the Returns are received Br. Jacob Lösch and Johann Lischer shall go to Carolina, inspect the large tract on Muddy Creek, select the best place for a beginning of the settlement, and make the necessary arrangements, so that the first company may know where their feet shall rest.

Further details as to the beginning and furtherance of the work will be decided in Conference; I can say this,—our people are not lacking in willingness.

SPBG.

Letter from Spangenberg.

[Translated in full. No address is given.]

Concerning a separate County² for the Brethren in North Carolina I make the following observations,—which accord with the facts,—

²The suggestion that Wachovia be made a separate county was not followed up.

before I undertake a mission to My Lord Granville or Governor Dobbs.

1) If we become a County we must have from one to five Trustees who will manage affairs, lay taxes, pay the County expenses, etc., who must live there, and must be men of standing.

2) If we become a County we must have from five to seven Justices, so that Courts may sit even if one or another is absent; that would be difficult for us, for specially qualified men are needed.

3) If we become a County we must hold trials in criminal causes according to the law as it there exists, and must pronounce sentence, not, as in Germany, according to justice and right, but according to the law, which reads: "Who is guilty of———must be hanged," so we could not show mercy, for clemency rests only with the Governor.

4) Moreover, how could we try a criminal case? Our solemn Affirmation does not suffice in such causes, so how could we serve on a Jury?

I mention these things because I fear that if we undertake what does not accord with our general circumstances it will only do us harm.

If it is decreed by the Saviour that we shall become a County, and become involved with affairs of government, then I have no more to say; but I see so many difficulties ahead that I ask that the matter be handled by Hutton or Cossart, for not being in favor of the proposition I should surely fail.

SPBG.

Draft of a letter from Spangenberg to Mr. Francis Corbin.

[English.]

Honourable Sir,—

When I left America, which was in the latter end of April, this year, I had not yet heard of you since my parting with Mr. William Churton, with whom I had sent you my Letter, and three Bills of Exchange for £60: Sterling, payable at sight to you or order by Mr. Daniel Benezet, Merchant at Philadelphia, according to your direction, said sum of £60: Sterling being the whole amount for the survey of 100,000 Acres, according to Agreement with the Earl of Granville; I sealed the said Bills up in Mr. William Churton's presence, delivered them to him for you, and took his Receipt for them, at Buckwaters, Jan. 21, 1753.

Now, Sir, tho I don't doubt but you have had both my Letter and the inclosed Bills, for you have actually answered and sent the Returns to my Lord in manner requested by me of you, I shall nevertheless be glad of a Line from you, whereby I may prove to my Constituents that the said money was paid to you.

Now I have the Honour to tell you, that we have finished this Affair, my Lord having signed his part the 4th, and James Hutton, Esq., Secretary to the Unitas Fratrum, the contrary part on the 13th of this month.

To the Carolina Colony and their Patrons.

[Translated in full.]

Dearest Brethren,—

We have now gone so far in the Carolina matter that nothing remains except to make the Deeds.

Day before yesterday I was with Earl Granville, and all was duly arranged,—I will give the details in my next.

Now it is necessary to prepare for the Colony, according to the plan made before my departure. Jacob Lösch, Johann Lischer, Herman Lösch, and so many other Brethren as may be necessary, should set out before the grass in the forest dies.

Where they shall settle cannot indeed be decided here, but I will mention that Nos. 3, 4, 5, and Nos. 10, 11, 12, are the pieces that most appeal to the Jünger.³ We have taken the 16,148 acres on the North Fork, and the 9,801 acres on the South Fork, but the beginning is not to be made in either of these.

I think they should first seek a place in Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, or Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, or in Nos. 6, 13, where they can make a farm, meadows, orchard, and build a mill and saw-mill. This place should be near a spot where the lay of the land, the water, the meadows, wood and roads, are suitable for the building of a Town, for then when the Town is built the farm and mill can still be used.

More I cannot say. A Dieu a thousand times.

God bless your going out,
And bless your coming in.

SPBG.

³ Of the nineteen deeds to Wachovia the Nos. III, IV, V, X, XI, XII, were in the center of the tract; the city of Winston-Salem touches them all, though it lies mostly in No. IV.

Diary Letter of Rev. John Jacob Friis.

[The following has been sent to the editor of this volume from the Moravian Archives in London, England. The Diary parallels the Bethabara Diary of the same date, translated in Vol. I, of the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, but gives a more intimate glimpse of the life there, and especially of the willingness of the pioneer Brethren to do whatever needed to be done,—Friis was the pastor of Bethabara, but he served in the Holy Communion, cooked, cleaned, or herded cattle, with equal readiness. The letter is written in English, and is addressed to Br. Gottlob Königsdorffer, who had been the *Jünger* of the Single Brethren's Choir the preceding year, and had accompanied the first company of Brethren to North Carolina in the fall of 1753, returning to Pennsylvania after seeing them settled at Bethabara. He was at Lindsay House, Moravian headquarters in London, when this was written to him.]

My most beloved Gottlob.—

As I know you take part in all my Circumstances, so I will write to you from time to time what occurs to me, it will not be of great importance, you have however pleasure therein.

27th of April, 1754. I conferred with my Antecessor,⁴ and it became a Hearts Band. I also had the first Communion here. It was a happy Feast for my poor and weak Heart.

28th. I accompanied him to our borders, was pretty much dejected when I saw him going away, but ye Lamb⁵ comforted my poor Heart.

29th. I sought swine the whole afternoon with Br. Lunge, and for the first time put on Indian shoes, they are light but my feet are yet too tender.

2nd of May. I made a spoon, it look'd pretty but was not convenient to eat with. My dr. Gottlob, our Saviour bless you for each day in which I have enjoyed you.

3rd. I began a Plantation for tobacco, and afterwards thought on your words, I will not work so hard any more.

⁴ Friis' predecessor was the Rev. Bernhard Adam Grube, who left Bethabara the following day, returning to Pennsylvania.

⁵ The Lamb of God was a title the Brethren loved to use for the Saviour. The Episcopal seal of the Unity, which comes down from the Ancient Unitas Fratrum, shows a Lamb, bearing a banner, and around it is the inscription: *Vicit agnus noster, eum sequamur.*

4th. Today is my Birthday; how I am at such an Opportunity you can easily judge. I lie beneath Jesus' Cross and weep.

5th. Our Saviour He granted me a very happy day with my Brn.

6th. Since Br. Grube went away we have had no meat, but have eaten every day Bears fat, now must eat Sapan (Indian Corn Porridge) alone, it is well that we have cows, which affords a little milk to it.

8th. I tried to make Pan-cakes of Milk and the Flower [flour] of Indian corn, it did not succeed very well, having no Eggs.

9th. We milked a cow with a particular instrument because we can't effect it otherwise; we had much trouble with her, and for all that the milk is not very good.

10th. We got a Letter from Br. Krogstrup out of Lancaster, but nothing from Bethlehem. Today I bak'd Journey Cakes,⁶ it went well.

11th. I mostly kept Sabbatic.

12th. We read Acts 2nd, it was as new to us as if we heard it for the first time; if any thing occurs to any one thereby he says it and we all profit by it. Our Saviour blesses us certainly. We have a Meeting every Sunday morning wherein a Sermon is read; if any Stranger comes it is well. But I have settled no Meeting on purpose for Strangers, if they stay all night I then read, instead of Accounts, a Chapter out of the Bible, and if anything real occurs to me to the clearing up any part thereof I say it, if nothing occurs I say nothing.

16th. My work will be often to help Br. Kalberlahn to dress the Garden, for that takes up much time.

17th. I thought much on the Communion we are to have tomorrow. I sit and view our Saviour who was slaughter'd for us.

18th. I spoke with all the Brn., they were Childlike & hungry after Grace. The Friend of Sinners absolved us, and fed us & gave us to drink of His Flesh and Blood.

19th. Some Strangers came to us. I am not pleased to see them come to us on a Sunday, for that is our only time when we have leisure; they are in our way, and their visit has no important end.

From the 20th to the 22nd. I planted Indian Corn, & then I began to the 24th to burn in my Tobacco plantation, but it cost me much labour & I did not understand it so well as I do now. I also made a

⁶ Attention is called to this early use of the name *Journey Cakes*, as the derivation of the later form, *Johnny Cakes*, has puzzled philologists. They were doubtless called *Journey Cakes* because of the convenience with which they could be baked at a camp-fire.

Hymn upon the dr. Disciples⁷ Birthday, upon which day I treated the Brn. with Chocolate, which I had got to use upon my journey.

27th. Our most beloved, happily departed, Christle's⁸ Hymn refreshed me very much amidst my great Poverty.

28th. On the Day of his Departure I was something sickly, and wished to be also soon ready to go home.

30th. I made the top of a Table for myself, and 31st cut wood for feet on the Table. They shall be Lyons Claws; is not that too much? One day I am a Joiner, the next a Carver; what could I not learn if I was not too old? We also conferred together, and resolved to clear 3 or 4 acres of Land. Directly upon this, as they were sharpening their Grubbing axes, I heard a Brother singing. It pleased me much that the Brn. are so cheerful and lively at such truly hard work.

June 1st. They began to clear near the good Well [spring] 2 miles from our house, and I bring them their Victuals, that consists of Sapan and Milk, and at noon and evening Sallad with it. We eat this every day. We have no meat. We divide our Milk so that we come through.

5th. As I was bringing the Victuals out a man ask'd me where was our Minister? I said, I am he, and with that I took the Wallet with bread in it, and the Yoke with the Sapan upon my shoulders, and went on.

6th. I wounded my feet with going because I would try to go with my bare feet in my shoes, my stock of Stockings being little. We want in Summer nothing more here than a Shirt, Trousers, and Shoes.

9th. I spoke with Br. Lösch,⁹ and told him that I did esteem hunting as unprofitable, and that I would seek to put an end to it till a Br. comes from Pensilvania who does not do it by way of amusement but as his Business. There is not much Game here, and one must however be entirely employed therein.

13th. I helped Br. Lösch to drive 3 cows and 3 calves home which he had bought. We got however but little from the Cows, for they retain the greatest part for the Calves, and the old ones are particularly hard to manage.

14th. I was wet the whole day by the rain, but received no hurt thereby.

18th. We kept a Lovefeast with the Journey Cakes, and afterwards a blessed Communion.

⁷ The English Brethren so translated *der Jünger*, a term frequently applied to Count Zinzendorf.

⁸ Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf, son of the Count.

⁹ Rev. Jacob Loesch, business manager of Wachovia during its early years.

19th. Now I do not carry the Victuals any more, for as the Cows go so scatter'd in the Woods we would willingly have them in one Flock; that is now my employment, to be the Cowherd. Br. Lösch did today more at this work than I did, but I am however your first Cowherd in Carolina.

20th. I had two Brn. to help me, it went badly, first one Cow ran away, and when we would bring her back 3 or 4 ran away, at last they all became rebellious and ran home to their calves, at last I stood alone and was obliged to go home after them. We had much trouble to bring them out again into the Woods.

21st. Br. Lösch on foot, I on horseback, watched the Cows; it went better than it did yesterday.

30th. We had a delightful Congregation Day, and He granted unto us to rejoice childlikely with each other over all matters.

July 3rd. I helped to bring in the Flax, it is very good, and also the Millet Seed.

4th. I was Cook, because Br. Kalberlahn was not at home.

6th. I plucked Black Berrys to make Vinegar. We use a great deal with our Sallad, for its weak, not having time to become sour.

12th. I was the Watcher of Fowl; at this work one must be very brisk and active. I am at one time employed in the Kitchen, at another I carry the Victuals into the fields, or write our Diary, and read the Accounts through, and it is all of equal importance to me. When I consider the Brn.'s work I can say in this respect, what am I in comparison of them?

13th. I cleaned the Yard and Sleep Hall.

14th. I froze in the night under my bedclothes, the other Brn. are not cold, but I am often cold in the Night in the middle of Summer.

16th. We have smoked for a Fortnight our new Tobacco, it grows incomparably well, but the Calves have spoiled very much.

20th. We had a very blessed Lord's Supper.

22nd. A tree fell upon one of our Dogs and gave him a sad stroke, a Serpent bit the other, it is a Grace of our Saviour that none of us have received any hurt.

26th. I spent some Days in helping Br. Lösch with his Accounts, now I must think seriously upon the Diary, to make an extract out of it. A good Diary writer who writes all from his Heart, and neither makes too much nor too little of a matter, is very valuable. I wish

to have such a one here, I would gladly do something else, and at the same time be his Copier.

27th. I was again very cold in the night; I know not how it happens that I can neither bear heat or cold, if it is hot I have a rash, but it is of no bad consequence.

August 8th. Br. Lösch returned from Cape Faire and William Town.¹⁰ There sails continually ships from New York thither, and by that means we can have our matters by water, for you know how difficult it is to bring all our matters the whole 600 miles on a Waggon.

Now I begin with writing my letter,—our Saviour has bestowed upon me a happy converse with Himself, I have told Him every thing childlikely, and He has brought all to rights, that I have wept childlikely before His feet on account thereof. Ah, my dr. Gottlob, how pretty would it be if we had thee here with us, you should directly be the Ordinary¹¹ and I would with my whole Heart be Cook, Cowherd, or anything else, since I am however not sufficient to anything Spiritual or Temporal. If we are allowed we will remove to the Well, where there is better Land, so that we need not make so many fences, and the more we can cultivate the better it is for our successors. We also think we can build a house there of two stories high with the least trouble, below a Meeting Hall, a dwelling room, and above a Sleep Hall, and above that a Corn Floor. I must tell you also how many Creatures we have which are a kind of Property. 12 Cows, 1 Bull and 1 Ox. We must do with melted Butter, which is not to be compared with Bears Fat, and we can as yet make but little Butter. Our Harvest of Rye, Wheat and Barley was but small; we however get besides the seed some bushells for the housekeeping. For some years we shall not be able to have any bread but of Indian Corn, that is also good Bread, and our Saviour lays His Blessing upon our Victuals, and because one gets the same as the other so it goes quite delightfully. We have about 47 swine, great and small, and there have been 14 torn to pieces by the Bears and Racoons. We got 6 chickens from one and 8 from another Hen.

July 31st. We made Butter the first time in a churn. We try'd to make it once before in a Tea kettle. Now, my most beloved Gottlob, we are poor children but our dr. Saviour is very gracious to us and does much upon us. We all salute you in the tenderest Manner.

What shall your poor Friis say? I am ashamed on account of all the Mercy and Grace I have experienced. The Lamb bless thee.

¹⁰ Cape Fear and Wilmington.

¹¹ The Ordinarius was the chief minister of the congregation.

1751-1760

[In the Salem Archives there is a package of Certificates of Survey, made by Earl Granville's surveyors, and bearing the stamp of the Granville office. Their presence would indicate that the land they cover was bought by the Moravians, and it is known that a good deal of land was bought for Moravians abroad, and then sold for them under Power of Attorney. Probably because it was not a part of *Der Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement* the account books of Wachovia do not show these transactions, and while some of the tracts are easily identified no attempt has been made to locate them all. The following extracts are inserted for the benefit of any Genealogist who may be interested, as giving a clue to the residence, at least for a time, of the men for whom the Surveys were made, and those who assisted as Chain Carriers. In the extracts there is given (1) the year, (2) name of man for whom surveyed, (3) number of acres, (4) location of tract, (5) name of Granville's "sworn surveyor", (6) names of two "sworn chain carriers." The Certificates show a plat of each tract, and give courses.]

Land Surveys.

1751

John West, Sr. 400 acres; Stoney Creek of Haw River, Granville Co. William Churton; Nathan Jackson, John Collins.

1752

John Baldwin; 636 acres; South Fork of Deep River, Rowan Co. James Carter; William Bues, James Murphy.

1753

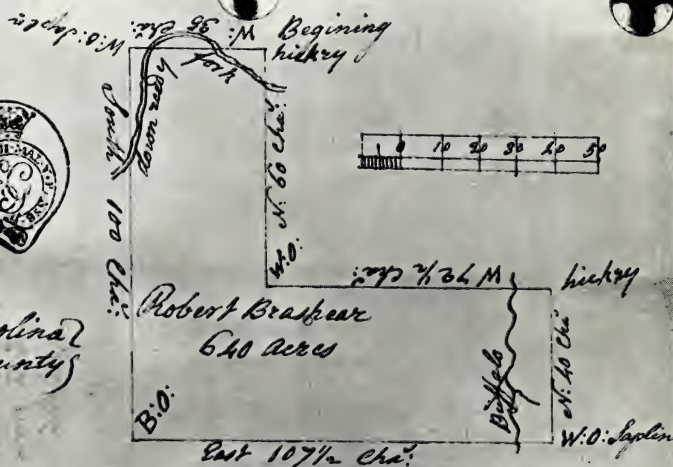
Thomas Linvall, Sr. 200 acres; Belews Creek, Rowan Co. William Churton; William Barclay, William Linvall.

Thomas Linvall, Jr. 200 acres; Belews Creek, Rowan Co. William Churton; Thomas Linvall, William Linvall.

Zabuland Gaunt, 600 acres, South Fork of Deep River, Anson Co. James Carter; Israel Gaunt, Henry Thornbrough.

Zabuland Gaunt, 422 acres; South Fork of Deep River; Anson Co. James Carter; Israel Gaunt, Henry Thornbrough.

Richard Robins, 640 acres; Muddy Creek of Deep River, Rowan Co. James Carter; Marmaduke Vickory, William Robins.



This plan represents a tract of land surveyed for Robert Brashear on both sides the Reedy fork of Haw-river Beginning at the Brashears corner hickry then running west cross 4th Reedy fork twice in 85 Cha: to a white oak Saplin. Then south cross the Reedy fork 100 Cha: to a black Oak Saplin: Then East cross Buffels 107 1/2 Cha: to a white oak Saplin. Then North 46 Cha: to a hickry on Bazil Brashears line. Then along two times North West cross Buffels 72 1/2 Cha: to a white oak. Then along his line North 80 of the Reedy fork 60 Cha: to the first Station containing six hundred and forty acres of land Surveyed 4th 2nd day of December 1756

Sworn Cha: Carriers
Bazil Brashear
John Hallum

W. Charlton

William Rice, 450 acres; Matrimony Creek, Orange County; William Churton; William Hopper, John Lucas.

Owen Sullivant, 453 acres, adjoining William Rice; Matrimony Creek, Orange Co. William Churton; William Hopper, William Lucas.

Henry Fundinburg, 480 acres; Grassy bottom Creek, north side of Yadkin River, Rowan Co. James Carter; John Wagoner, — —.

John Parker, 640 acres; Forbes Creek, north side of Yadkin River, Rowan Co. James Carter; Abraham Dailie, George Forbes.

William Bishop, 342 acres; east side of Yadkin River, Rowan Co. James Carter; Joseph Harris, John Parker.

Thomas Shannon, 558 acres; Joseph's Creek, south-west side of Yadkin River, Rowan Co. James Carter; Richard Windscot, George Forbush.

Abinton Phelps, 500 acres; Reedy Creek, Yadkin Waters, Anson Co. James Carter; John Smith, Abiga McCoy.

1754

Hugh Barnet, 150 acres; Blew Wing Creek, Orange Co. William Churton; Robert Danielson, Thomas Barnet.

Robert Wilkins, 461 acres; County Line Creek, Orange Co. William Churton; William Maxwell, William Killgore.

William Elrod, 180 acres; Deep River, Orange Co. James Carter; William Bunch, William Elrod, Jr.

Peter Youngblood, Sr. 575 acres; Deep River, Orange Co. William Churton; Peter Youngblood, Herman Cox.

John Boyd, 483 acres; Reedy Fork of Haw River, Orange Co. William Churton; Otho Brashear, Jesse Brashear.

William Moore, 300 acres; head of Richland Creek, Orange Co. William Churton; John Hughs, Danniell Bankson.

Thomas Linville, 550 acres; Mayo Road, south side of Fisher's (or Piney) Mountain; William Churton; David Linvell, William Linvell.

Isaac Whitworth, 362 acres; mouth of Belews Creek, south side of Dan River, Rowan Co. William Churton; Isaac Young, Jacob Whitworth.

William Fisher, 653 acres; touches Richard Winscott and Nicholas Hartford, on south side of Yadkin River, Rowan Co. James Carter; Jeremiah Wright, Sobald Ryolds.

Peter King, 384 acres; between William Jones and Thomas Rutledge, on head waters of Mear's Creek, Rowan Co. James Carter; William James, Peter King, Jr.

John Mills, Sr. 500 acres; Wolf Run, Rowan Co. James Carter; John Mills, Jr., Henry Mills.

1755

Thomas Church, 660 acres; Fishing Creek, Orange Co. William Churton; Joseph Pinson, Edward Southwest.

John Boyd, Jr. 424 acres; Great Troublesome Creek, Orange Co. William Churton; Marshal Lovelatty, William Kenniday.

Austin Hightowr, 640 acres; Marks Creek fork of New Hope, above John Penes' land, Orange Co. William Churton; John Price, Thomas Durham.

John Bohannon, 640 acres; second fork of New Hope, Orange Co. William Churton; William Rhoads, Christopher Rhoads.

Richard Parker, 334 acres; Lick Branch, waters of New Hope, Orange Co. William Churton; Robert Patterson, William Pickett.

Thompson Harris, 420 acres; Pruits Fork of Hoggans Creek, Orange Co. William Churton; Michael Joyce, George Vaughan.

Thomson Harris, 405 acres; Pruits Fork of Hoggans Creek, Orange Co. William Churton; John McCullom, Benjamin Knowls.

Thomson Harris, 420 acres; Pruits Fork of Hoggans Creek, Orange Co. William Churton; John McCullom, Benjamin Knowls.

Frederick Fulkerson, 546 acres; Crooked Run, joining the County Line, Rowan Co. James Carter; Daniel Lisenby, John Lightfoot.

1756

William James, 444 acres; Lick Fork of Reedy Creek of Haw River, Rowan Co. William Churton; Nicholas Robinson, John Robinson.

James Gamble, 280 acres; Reedy Fork of Haw River, Rowan Co. William Churton; John Cunigan, John McClintock.

Henry Ballinger, 294 acres; Moons Creek of Reedy Fork of Haw River, Rowan Co. William Churton; Thomas Thornboroug, Thomas Brown.

Robert Brashear, 640 acres; Reedy Fork of Haw River, Orange Co. William Churton; Bazil Brashear, John Hallum.

William Martin, 187 acres; Haw River, Orange Co. William Churton; Zachariah Martin, George Martin.

Charles Fooshe, 640 acres; Robinson's Creek of Haw River, Orange Co. William Churton; Robert Marsh, Robert Ramplen.

William Howlet, 189 acres; Haw River, Orange Co. William Churton; John Baldwin, John Morgan.

Robert Belvin, 521 acres; Great Lick Creek of Neuse River, Orange Co. William Churton; Abraham Nelson, William Goodson.

William Scaife, 264 acres; Sizemore's Branch, south side of Rocky River, Orange Co. William Churton; Thomas Brooks, John Brooks.

Thomas Hill, 110 acres; Rocky River and Deep Creek, Orange Co. William Churton; Joseph Brantley, Lewis Brantley.

Peter Martin, 630 acres; Panther Creek of New Hope, Orange Co. William Churton; Christopher Rhoads, Henry Beesly.

Duncan Bohannon, Jr. 205 acres; New Hope Creek, Orange Co. William Churton; Edward Trice, Joseph Bohannon.

Duncan Bohannon, Jr. 174 acres; New Hope Creek, Orange Co. William Churton; Edward Trice, Joseph Bohannon.

John McGowin, 628 acres; Beaver Creek of Allamance, Orange and Rowan Cos. William Churton; Benjamin Starrett, Walter Matthews.

John McAdow, 640 acres; north fork of Great Allamance, Rowan Co. William Churton; Thomas McElower, John McGowin.

John Beals, 238 acres; Mendinghales Creek of Deep River, Rowan Co. William Churton; John Mills, John Beals, Jr.

1757

Daniel Mathis, 606 acres; Mathis Creek, south fork of Deep River, Rowan Co. William Churton; Israel Gaunt, Robert Large.

David Brown, 475 acres; Quall's Branch of Great Allamance, Orange and Rowan Cos. William Churton; John McGowin, John McDonnel.

Benjamin Murray, 180 acres; Deep Creek, Orange Co. Shery Haywood; James Satterfeld, William Jay.

John Roberts, 412 acres; Rattlesnake Creek, Orange Co. Shery Haywood; Thomas Harrison, Benjamin Carter.

Dudley Runalds, 240 acres; Moon Creek of Reedy Fork, Orange Co. Shery Haywood; Hugh Dobbin, John Fergerson.

David Phillips, Jr. 640 acres; Nelson's Creek of Haw River, Orange Co. William Churton; John Rennols, William Rainy.

1758

Stephen McMillion, 540 acres; Hoggans Creek, Orange Co. Shery Haywood; John Thomas, John Ward.

James Foullas, 225 acres; South fork of Stoney Creek, Orange Co. Shery Haywood; Daniel Adam, Benjamin Shaw.

Joseph Fuller, 322 acres; forks of Deep River and Rocky River, Orange Co. William Churton; Lewis Brantley, Moses Ginn.

1759

William Wiley, 410 acres; Miry Branch of North Allamance, Orange Co. William Churton; William Forbis, John Wiley.

John Walker, 262 acres; Buffalo Island Creek, Rowan Co. William Churton; Francis Rose, Jr., James Simms.

Francis Rose, 510 acres; Little House Creek, Rowan Co. William Churton; James Langford, James Simmons.

1760

Daniel Riggon, 700 acres; Little Creek, Granville Co. Thomas Person; Richardson Person, ——— Riggon.

1760

Letter Spangenberg to Zinzendorf.

[The Count had died the preceding month, but Bishop Spangenberg had not yet heard of it. The letter is translated from the copy found in the Jüngerhaus Diarium for 1760.]

Bethlehem, Pa. June 11, 1760.

I have returned to Bethlehem from the Wachau,¹² and rejoice with the Brethren over all the good that the Lord has permitted us to experience. My wife and I left Bethabara the end of April, and reached here the end of May. Our Lord allowed us to arrive in time for the Whitsuntide festival, and in time to celebrate your birthday, and from the bottom of my heart I thanked Him for the grace and blessing which through so many years and in so many ways He has vouchsafed to me through His Jünger. I cannot say nor write all that you have done for me, I can only send you my tenderest greetings and kisses, and pray for a blessing upon you.

Now concerning the Wachau.—I felt that I was leaving a land of the Lord; the Brethren and Sisters living there are dear hearts. More than 220 persons have taken refuge with the Brethren, fleeing from the terrible hand of the Wild Men. They are living among the Brethren, but in separate houses and huts. The Gospel is diligently proclaimed to them, and not without results. We were not attacked by the Wild Men while I was there, but the roads are very unsafe. The Government is trying to clear the woods by sending out parties of soldiers. Our Brethren keep a constant watch, which is necessary, and also good for the country, for many neighbors have come to them with all their movable possessions as well as wives and children.

There are now three places settled in the Wachau,—Bethabara, at the mill, and Bethania. In Bethabara there are at present 38 Single Brethren and eight Married Couples belonging to the Oeconomie. Cultivation of their land and the raising of cattle is being successfully

¹² The Zinzendorf family was one of the oldest in Lower Austria, there being eight branches recognized when the first list of nobility was compiled. At various times the Zinzendorfs owned estates at different places *ob* and *unter der Enns*. The *Thal Wachau* originally belonged to the Zelking Family, and came to Otto Heinrich von Zinzendorf through his wife, who was the last of the Zelking name. She died in 1646. As was stated in Vol. I, of this series, Spangenberg suggested the name Wachau for the 100,000 acres bought in North Carolina, because the tract reminded him of the Austrian estate of the Zinzendorfs. Calling the south fork of Muddy Creek the "Ens" was also in remembrance of the ancestral seat of the Zinzendorfs. One branch of the Zinzendorfs, being Protestant, left Catholic Austria, which accounts for the fact that Nicholas Lewis von Zinzendorf was a resident of Saxony.

carried on, and several handicrafts are going well. They have to build each year, and that not only interferes with other necessary work, but also entails a good deal of expense. I wish they had good trading facilities! Just now the only thing they can do is to bring by wagon from Pennsylvania the things they absolutely need, but if a Brother could be established as a merchant in Wilmington, and another at Springhill (both are on Cape Fear River), and we could own a boat in which to bring up the necessary goods and to send back various commodities, it would not only benefit the Brethren in the Wachau but the entire surrounding country. Bethabara is enclosed in a stockade (of palisades).

The mill is a fairly large, three-story, house. Not only the Brethren but also the neighbors store their grain there. Ten one-story houses stand near by, in a row, built by the Brethren, or at their expense. The houses are full of refugees; a strong, high, board fence makes an enclosure for their defense. The Brethren keep good order among the refugees. Many, who have nothing, earn a little by working for the Brethren, and so manage to live through the hard times.

Bethania now has ten houses. Half belong to Brethren, the others to neighbors who have placed themselves under the care of the Brethren and have been formed into a Society. We are hopeful for them, for in nearly every house someone is seeking grace; and I was impressed by the fact that before I left I could receive five into the Congregation. Also, just before leaving Bethabara, I received into that Congregation Sarah Frey, wife of Christian Frey, a Jewess by birth, though she had been baptised; she has a soft and tender heart. The residents of Bethania are to be free of rent for three years, and after that to pay at a moderate rate. Our Brethren and Sisters have been outfitted like sons and daughters, and are content, but they need ministers. Ettwein and Bischof serve them in turn, as that is the best we can do now. Nor do I know how to send them help from here, for we have no suitable persons.

Concerning the settling of that part of the Wachau which belongs to the Carolina Society:—I consulted with Br. Reuter as to the long, narrow lots.¹³ He is not at all in favor of them, and as nothing definite has been done in Europe, and no division has been made, I commissioned him to draw a new plan. He did so, and I have sent it over with other papers concerning the Wachau. The case speaks for itself. We intended through the long narrow lots to secure for each

¹³ The history of the Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement is given in full in Vol. I, of this series.

owner water, meadows, woods, etc., but Br. Reuter says there will be plenty of water, meadow land, arable land, woodland, etc. in each if the lots are made more nearly square.

The congregation-life of Bethabara is fine, as it often is in small congregations; Bethania is still new, and needs care.

Gov. Dobbs has been kind as a father to the Brethren, and so has Chief Justice Hasel.

I am sending two married couples from here to the Wachau, Jacob van der Merk and his wife for the mill, and Dixon and his wife for the store, so that Schaub and his wife can take charge of the tavern. The Carolina wagon which brought us hither (we had a comfortable trip, and camped in the woods from the time we left Bethabara until we were nearly in Maryland) will now return, taking what things the Brethren in the Wachau need, and also taking these two couples. Bethania needs a teacher too, and a Brother and Sister to care for the children, of whom there are thirty in the village; in Bethabara there should be a Brother and a Sister for the children, a book-keeper, and especially an Oeconomus, and a Vorsteher for the Oeconomie.

[The rest of the letter concerns affairs at Bethlehem.]

Letter from Bishop Johann von Watteville announcing the death of Count Zinzendorf.

[Nicholas Lewis, Count Zinzendorf, died in Herrnhut, Saxony, May 9, 1760. The letter containing the news of his departure was received in Bethlehem, Pa. on Aug. 19th, and a copy sent to Wachovia arrived there on Sept. 26th; at both places there was much sorrow, for the Count was greatly loved and highly revered by all the Brethren. The copy in the Salem Archives is translated in full.]

Dearest Brethren and Sisters,—

With tears in my eyes and an aching heart I write to you this day. You know what a gracious gift from God the Jünger has been to our Church. This crown of the Brethren, this witness of the Saviour's death and meritorious suffering, this restorer of the Brethren's Church, of Choir grace, of the blessings to be appropriated from Jesus' life as man, this apostle to so many nations of the earth, including heathen tribes, this founder of the village of the Lord, this servant of all Christendom and of the Diaspora, this true heart for each needy and longing soul, this friend of man, whose highest joy was to do good, this man has our dear Lord called home from work this morning in the tenth

hour. The Children's Text was: "He shall come with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him" [Ps. 26, 6].

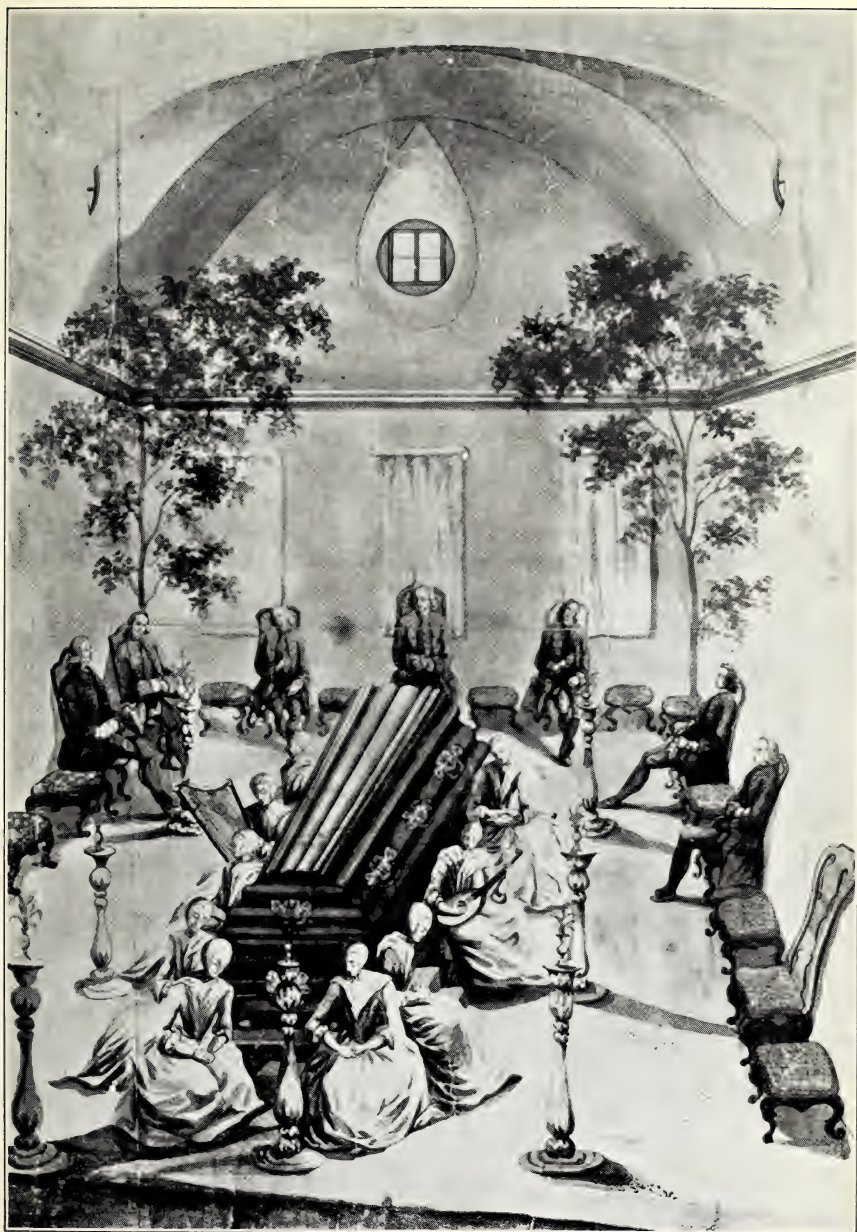
Who this desires shall say Amen thereto.

His work was wrought in God, Who blessed his plans; and I shall never forget his last moments, and the conference which I had with him this morning. He spoke tenderly of his home-going, and of his soul's blessed relation to the Saviour, and discussed one and another matter of special interest. His illness lasted for quite a while, and his frequent references to his expected call home often filled us with sorrow. Last Saturday, after the Lovefeast, he preached his last sermon, and on Monday morning, in spite of his illness, he revised it and the entire Wochen, hurrying the more because he felt so sick, and then remarked: "When work is finished it is good to rest." On the same day he attended the Lovefeast of the Single Sisters, for which he composed a beautiful doctrinal Choir-hymn, which will be given in the Wochen. Soon after the Lovefeast he went to bed with a malignant catarrhal fever. During the next days he seemed to us as an angel of God, whose heart was fixed in John XVII, and his face shone. He rejoiced in all that happened. He said repeatedly how glad he was for the blessing that he was with those dearest to him, how happy he was that we loved each other. Nothing displeased or worried him. He told us that at other times, when he had been sick, he had questioned what the Lord wished him to learn thereby; this time there was no questioning,—the Disciple and his Lord were fully in accord. Yesterday afternoon he finished preparing for the printer the Texts for next year, and we can consider these last Texts as his parting blessing, and the last conference as his Will and Testament. This morning he held the above-mentioned conference with me; and had his three dear daughters called, greeted and blessed them. Then he became much oppressed, and we soon saw that the last kiss was not far off. More than one hundred Brethren and Sisters gathered, weeping, and as they sang the line

Now hast Thou him, his real self,

he passed to the Church above. His last breath came as the Church's blessing was being pronounced, with the words "And give thee peace, peace, peace, Amen!"

Dear Brethren and Sisters! Our Lord has made a great gap in our ranks, but He is the Elder of His Church. Let each one speak with Him, commend to Him His people, and pray for me and my fellow workers, that He may lead us by His Spirit, bless our Church with



REMAINS OF COUNT ZINZENDORF LYING IN STATE IN THE SALON OF HIS HOME IN
HERENHUT, SAXONY, MAY 9 TO 16, 1760

Drawn by Albrecht Dietrich

From a picture belonging to Miss Adelaide L. Fries

His presence during the period we are now entering, keep all the Arbeiter and Diener of His people in one mind, and let a double portion of His Jünger's spirit rest upon us. Treasure in your hearts the Jünger's doctrine concerning the sufferings and death of Jesus, and the foundation principles of the Church, Congregation, Choirs, and Diaspora, which our Lord put into his heart.

The Jüngerin greets you from her sick-bed; she is very weak, and we had expected that she would be called home before the Jünger. All my associates greet you; and I remain ever

Your true Brother in the sufferings of Jesus,

JOHANNES.

Herrnhut, May 9th,
1760.

Gemein Nachrichten.

[Editorial.]

As was stated in Vol. I, the *Gemein Nachrichten* served the purpose of the Church publications of the present day, keeping various portions of the Unity of Brethren in touch with each other, and furnishing instructive reading matter for their numerous services. The varying content of the *Nachrichten* is indicated by the various names used. The *Jüngerhaus Diarium* was a diary of the religious activities of the Jünger,—Count Zinzendorf,—and the men closely associated with him in this service, and it gives not only the register of meetings held, but also numerous, rather lengthy, sermon extracts, synopses of talks historical and doctrinal, brief notes as to the movements of ministers and missionaries, occasional specially composed hymns, etc. The Diary was divided according to weeks, whence the name *Wochen*, so often used. These *Wochen* were copied and sent to nearer and more distant congregations of the Unity; in Wachovia one copy was passed from congregation to congregation, and finally deposited in the Archives.

The *Wochen* of 1760 give full details of the last weeks of Count Zinzendorf, his final illness, death and burial. Being not directly a part of the history of North Carolina the account is not translated in full though it is a touching and rather dramatic narrative of which a resumé may be interesting.

During the Count's last hours bystanders were particularly struck by his radiant face, his joyful acceptance of the call. He had sometimes spoken of a death struggle as "unliturgical," and his nephew, Heinrich XXXI Reuss, called Ignatius, commented on the fact that when the great oppression lifted the Count "breathed three times,

quietly laid back his head, closed his eyes, and passed as a prince of God," "in a manner worthy of a priest and Liturgus." The final blessing, referred to by Bishop von Watteville, is given in full in the *Wochen*, and may be thus translated:—

O Father, rejoice in him, for he belongeth to the Son;
Holy Spirit, sanctify him;
And Thou Who hast redeemed us from sin, now hast Thou him, his
real self.
The Lord bless thee and keep thee;
The Lord make His face shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee;
The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee and give thee peace,
peace, peace, Amen!

Bishop Johann von Watteville, who had married the Count's daughter, Benigna, took the news of the Count's home-going to his wife, Anna Nitschmann, who lay seriously ill in another room, so ill, indeed, that it had been thought that she would be the first to pass away. She received the announcement with tears, but remarked, "Of you all I have the happiest prospect, for I shall soon go to him." Next morning, in spite of extreme weakness, she had herself carried into his room, and was left alone with him for a while. Then the remains, arrayed in the white surplice and crimson girdle which he wore when officiating at the Holy Communion, were laid in the violet-colored casket, which was placed in the salon of his home in Herrnhut, where it remained in state for six days,¹⁴ watched in turn by groups of the Brethren at night and of Sisters during the day, hundreds of friends and acquaintances, men, women and children, coming to pay their last tribute of love and respect. On the afternoon of the 9th, official announcement of the death was made by Bishop von Watteville to the assembled congregation, and Br. Layritz read the letter, written by von Watteville, which has been translated above; on the 10th express messengers were sent in various directions, bearing copies of the letter, and announcement of the funeral.

On the morning of May 16th the casket was moved into the Gemein Saal, where again hundreds of visitors passed by, including a company of Royal Grenadiers sent by Gen. von Beck from Zittau, their presence having been requested in case of disorder though it was not needed, for the more than two thousand present at the funeral behaved with

¹⁴ Rev. Joseph Müller, former Archivist of Herrnhut, writes that the picture of Zinzendorf's lying in state, reproduced in this volume, was drawn by Albrecht Dietrich, who was in Herrnhut when the Count died. Dietrich was born in Culmbach in 1730; came to the Brethren in Marienborn as a twelve-year-old orphan; and was trained as a draughtsman, being naturally gifted in drawing. He died in 1802, at Niesky.

the utmost propriety and respect. At five o'clock the company assembled on the Square, in orderly groups according to Choir; then, while the trombonists played, twelve Brethren brought the casket from the Saal; it was borne to the Hutberg by thirty-two ministers of the Unity of Brethren, some of them from neighboring congregations, some from Holland, England, Ireland, Liefland, Greenland, etc., who happened to be in Herrnhut. All of the forty-four Brethren wore brown suits; the children and most of the Sisters wore white. The widow watched the procession from a window in the Sisters House, to which she had asked to be carried.

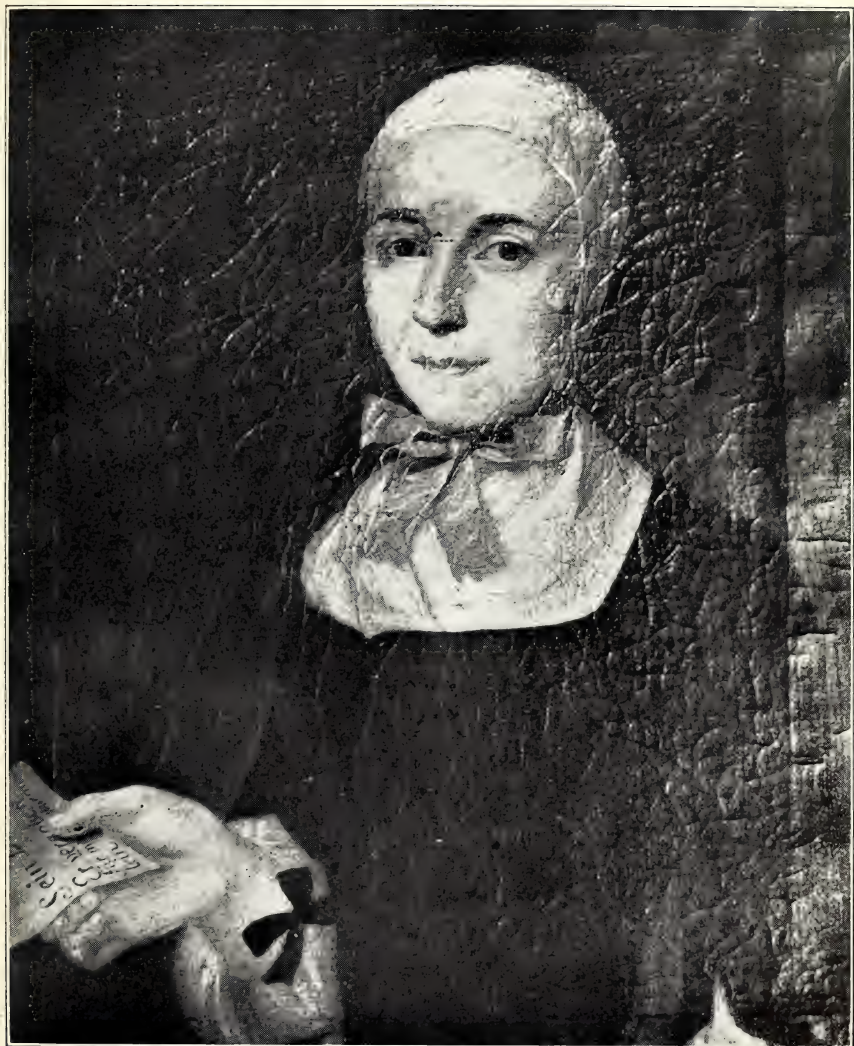
For thirty years and more Anna Nitschmann was the leader among the women of the Unity, and her most dramatic story appears here and there in the pages of the *Wochen* and *Beilagen*. Born of well-to-do, middle-class parents in Moravia, she early learned the intensity of life, for her father and brother were among those who bore imprisonment and torture for their adherence to the traditions of the Ancient *Unitas Fratrum*. Abandoning home and property for the sake of religious freedom the family slipped out at dead of a winter night, and emigrated to Saxony, where they took part in the reorganization of the Unity. It is a great temptation to tell the unparalleled story in detail, but it has little to do with the history of North Carolina, so suffice it to say that the little shepherdess of Moravia was one of the children who shared in the blessing of Aug. 17, 1727; began religious activity among the girls of her own age; and at the age of fourteen and a half was elected Chief Eldress of the women, by her gifts and consummate tact soon winning the esteem and affection of all, even those who had disapproved of this apparently untimely elevation to high office. She organized the Choir of Single Sisters, the beginning of the Choir System frequently referred to in these pages; and when she was about seventeen the Chief Elder died (his successor was in the Mission service in the West Indies, and it took many months to notify him of his election and bring about his return to Herrnhut), and for an entire year Anna Nitschmann was acting Chief Elder, "she ruled the Unity as once Deborah and Huldah ruled Israel, and no one thought, much less said, a word against it." She presided in Conferences, gave the deciding vote on important questions, gave the formal instructions to those assuming office, helped to formulate the doctrinal position of the Renewed Unity, confirmed candidates for the Communion, and gave the parting blessing to the dying. The ministry of the *Unitas Fratrum* had not yet been re-established, but in a little book in the Salem Arch-

ives, containing a list of the ordinations of men and women in the Renewed Unity, the page containing the names of *Aeltestinnen der Gemeinde und Chöre* follows that of the Bishops, and *Anna Nitschmann die Jüngerin*, heads the list.

Apart from her general service of the Unity her special contribution to America came when the Brethren decided to begin a settlement in Pennsylvania. Bishop Spangenberg found that Province split among many sects, all at variance with each other, and uniting only when some one else was to be opposed. The only chance to make friends, he found, would be through the efforts of a woman, who would go to the farms, share in the work, and win the hearts of the people by tact and the sweetness of her personality, and after thorough discussion a Synod appointed Anna Nitschmann, as the only woman having the necessary qualifications, and she spent two successful years in Pennsylvania, making possible the settlement there, and so indirectly the settlement of the Brethren in North Carolina.

After the death of Countess Zinzendorf the Count was fairly crushed, and when a year had passed his friends advised him to marry again; he agreed, but said he would consider no one except Anna Nitschmann, who had been for so many years so vitally connected with the work of the Unity. Their wedded life lasted only three years, and her widowhood only twelve days; and when she died, May 21, 1760, five days after the Count was buried, her funeral obsequies were a parallel of his. She too was dressed in the white surplice with crimson girdle which she wore when serving in the Holy Communion; her casket was of violet color; and for seven days she lay in state in the salon of the Zinzendorf home, watched by groups of Sisters, relieved by the Brethren for a few hours each day. On May 28th twenty-four of the ministers of the Unity bore her to the Hutberg, and laid her on the left of the Count, his first wife being on his right. Only about two hundred outside visitors were present, but the members of the Unity were there en masse, as they had been at the burial of the Count. It is easy to see from the records that the honor paid was not because for three years she had been the wife of the Jünger, but because she was *die Jüngerin*, honored and beloved for her own sake, a veritable "Handmaid of the Lord." A letter announcing her death reached Bethlehem with that announcing the departure of the Count, and copies of both were sent to Wachovia, where they are preserved in the Archives.

The *Beilagen*, above referred to, supplemented the *Wochen*, for whereas the *Wochen* took to the congregations the records and messages from headquarters the *Beilagen* gave the reports from the widely



ANNA NITSCHMANN
From a portrait in the Bethlehem Archives
Painted in oils by Valentine Haidt

scattered congregations of the Unity, so keeping them in touch with each other. Probably the best way to show the scope of the Beilagen is to give a table of contents of those sent out in 1760.

I. Reports from Greenland. Diary of New Herrnhut, Aug. 1758 to July, 1759. Two letters from Greenland; from the men and the women. Journey of Br. and Sr. Böhnisch from Greenland to Herrnhut. From the Missionaries in Abyssinia. Br. Hocker's Journey from Gedda to Cairo. Br. Pilder's letter from Livorno.

II. Report of Br. Johannes to the Jünger concerning the state of our congregations and members in England and Ireland.

III. Reports from America,—from Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the Indian congregation of Nain. [Given by title only, probably because this copy was to come to America where these originated.] Extracts from the Diaries of English and Irish congregations. Memorabilia of the year 1759 of the English and Irish congregations.

IV. From the German congregations, January and part of February, 1760. Reports from our Diaspora in the Lutheran Church; from the Reformed and Menonite Diaspora; Memoir of Rudolph Fischer. Memoir of Christian Ludwig Nitchmann, at Barby. Reports from the Negro congregations in St. Thomas, Santa Cruz, St. Jan, Jamaica and Antigua.

V. Address made by Count Zinzendorf, March 17, 1760, when the Jüngerin had a Lovefeast for the Single Sisters in her salon, it being the anniversary of her election as Chief Eldress of the Unity thirty years before.

VI. Diaries from German congregations. From the Diaspora,—Copenhagen, Holstein, Pomerania, Riga, Lettland, Esthonia, etc. From America; by title only. Extracts from the Diary of Br. Nathanael's journey from St. Cruz to Jamaica, and thence to Herrnhut.

VII. Ministers' Conference in Herrnhut, April 16, 1760.

VIII. Reports from English congregations. From German congregations. Several Memoirs are included.

IX. Addresses to the Choirs, June 1st, 1760, the first since the death of the Jünger and Jüngerin.

X. Reports from German congregations. From North America; titles only. Memorial sermon for the departed Ordinarius of the Brethren, preached in the church at Berthelsdorf, July 11, 1760, by M. Burchard Georg Müller, Lutheran minister at Gross Hennersdorf. Memoir of Count Zinzendorf. Addresses to the Choirs during the 31st week. First Conference concerning the Diaspora.

XI. Addresses to the Choirs. Extracts from the Diary of Herrnhut. Reports from certain Diaspora stations. Memoirs. Reports from the heathen—Berbice, St. Thomas, St. Jan. Ministers' Conference in Herrnhut, Aug. 26, 1760.

XII. Reports from German congregations. Extracts from Copenhagen Diary. Extracts from English and Irish Diaries. Extracts from Bethlehem and Nazareth Diaries; title only. Extracts from Diary of Antigua.

XIII. Reports from English and Irish congregations, June and July, 1760. From the German congregations, and Holland. From various Diaspora posts. From America; title only. Addresses to the Choirs in the 41st week.

XIV. Extracts from the Herrnhut Diary, May to end of Sept. 1760. Twenty-nine Memoirs. From other German congregations. Address on Gemein Tag, Oct. 27, 1760. Addresses to the Choirs in the 45th week. Addresses to the Choirs in the 47th week. Ministers' Conference in Herrnhut, Nov. 19th, 1760.

XV. Reports from German congregations for October. From the English and Irish congregations, August and September. From the heathen, certain reports from 1759. From the Diary of Br. Matthew Stach in Greenland. Addresses to the Choirs in the 49th week. Addresses to the Choirs in the 50th week. Doctrinal sermon to candidates for the Holy Communion.

XVI. Reports from North America; titles only. From St. Thomas and St. Crux. Extracts from Greenland Diary. Memorabilia of the European congregations for the year 1760.

Circulation of the *Reden* did not begin until about 1767. This was a collection of sermons preached by various leaders of the Unity, though not necessarily of recent date, sermons by the Jünger being included. Valuable as they are for setting forth the doctrinal position of the Brethren, it is not necessary to give them space in this volume.

1762

Letter Spangenberg to Ettwein.

[Translated for its human interest rather than any historical value.]

Bethlehem, April 17, 1762.

My dear Ettwein,—

What has happened that you have received no personal letter from me for so long a time I do not know; my notes show that I wrote to you at the same time that I wrote the other letters. Where has it gone? Or where is it lying? Ah! Three weeks ago I went to the Archives, and there I found not one but a number of letters, addressed to me, to the departed Father Nitschmann, and others, from Br. West, Lung, and others, in Labrador. They probably came during my absence, and were laid in a pile to be sent or given to me, and then were forgotten; most of them had not been opened. And sometimes a letter goes quite the wrong way;—some years ago I received a letter sent from Bethlehem to Nazareth, which had gone by way of St. Thomas!

When a Brother offends me I feel it, of course, for I am *Homo, Humani nihil a me alienum puto*, but if it is an official matter I do not make him suffer for it. If you had hurt me I would have thought:—he is a good fellow, a bit hasty, sometimes a little thoughtless, but who knows that he has not already regretted it? I will continue to love him. When you scolded because we had not sent you a messenger, my first thought was: “That is rather unnecessary,” but I forgave you on the spot. Then I thought: “It serves me right, for I have sometimes written so to others;” and I was ashamed of myself, and said no more about it.

Many thanks for the beautiful map you sent me, of the Wachau and its neighbors. I shall use it with pleasure, and it will be useful in conferences.

Matters of which I would particularly write you will find in the letters to the Conference, etc. and in the copies I send of the consultations with Graff, von Gammern, etc.

Dear Sister Ettwein, the faithfulness with which you cared for my wife during her illness I shall never forget so long as I have power to remember aught; be heartily greeted by us both! He, the Eternal, the Only, reward you, and keep you near to Him.

But oh! my dear Brother Gottlieb,¹⁵ my beloved, my old, true friend! How shall I speak of him? He is among us no more. When I think of him it is as though a wound were torn open that has just begun to heal. But the Lord has taken him into His rest, and blessed be His name!

Whatever you do, dear Brother, do not let it come to an entire break with any Brother or Sister; do not throw down the bridge, but leave a way by which they can return when they come to themselves.

I close this brief letter with many hundred wishes of blessing for you, and am

Your, I think through His grace your ever faithful,

JOSEPH.

P. S. The Accounts I will take with me, or will send to the general Directorium, and will leave a copy here.

¹⁵ Probably Rev. Gottlieb Pezold, a leader among the Moravians in Pennsylvania, who died at Lititz, Pa. April 1, 1762.

Letter, Spangenberg to Ettwein.

[It will be remembered that on his tour of exploration in 1752 Bishop Spangenberg "took up" a number of detached tracts before he found the Wachovia Tract in the three forks of Muddy Creek. The following extract relates to certain of those smaller tracts, on the Catawba River.]

Herrnhut, July 29, 1763.

You can say to all persons on the Catawba River that the Brethren do not wish to take or hold even a hand-breath of all the tracts surveyed for them there. We have our total, that is 100,000 acres, in Wachovia. Earl Granville, indeed, promised that he would give the Brethren the refusal of those Catawba tracts, but we do not desire it. If you know some one there you can tell him this positively. Whether Mr. Churton or Mr. Corbin, or some one else, may have a claim on them I do not know; that will appear if some one has the land surveyed, and offers the Deed for record.

Letter, Spangenberg to the Conference in Bethabara.

[These, and the following, extracts refer to the appointment of Fred-eric William Marshall as Oeconomus of Wachovia.]

Herrnhut, July 28, 1763.

Dear Brethren and Sisters,—

That so little has been written from here has come, primarily, because we were planning to have an important conference concerning Wachovia, and writing was postponed from time to time, waiting on that. Yesterday and the day before, rather unexpectedly, we were able to have the conference, so I lose no time in informing you of what, in general, you should know.

The most important thing is that Br. Friedrich Marschall has been appointed by our dear Lord as Oeconomus of the Wachau; and as he has duties in Pennsylvania, which will prevent him from being constantly in Carolina, Br. Ettwein has been appointed Vice Oeconomus, to serve during his absence; he has our whole heart with him, and the Saviour has confirmed him also through the lot. * * * The American Oeconomie Conferenz, already serving in Bethlehem, of which

Br. Marschall is a member, will continue, as hitherto, to care for the Wachau and its affairs; and you, on your part, will seek to maintain a constant correspondence with Bethlehem. You will be able to send and receive many letters by the hands of friends and neighbors as they travel to and fro, if you give them a stipulated *douceur* for the service. If it is generally known that you will give such reward many will mention their intention of going and offer their service, who otherwise would probably say nothing about their trip. For instance, if a man delivers your letters in Bethlehem, and receives a piece-of-eight as "trinkgeld," and if the man who brings you letters from Bethlehem also receives a certain sum, men will be found who will serve you. And as you have acquaintances in Charlestown, and vessels frequently sail from there to Philadelphia, you will often be able to send letters by water to Pennsylvania. And if you can learn from what point in Virginia the post-rider goes direct to Philadelphia, that will be a way you can send letters, if necessary, at less expense than by an express messenger.

Your letters to Europe need not all go by way of Bethlehem, for if you have opportunity to write by way of Charlestown and London, it will be well for you to do it, as you have done. And in that case it would please the Conference if you would have two copies made of your Diary, one for Europe and one for Bethlehem. If you have only a good opportunity towards Bethlehem then send the two copies to Br. Marschall, and as soon as possible he will forward one by Philadelphia or New York to Europe; otherwise your Diary and letters for Europe should go by way of Charlestown and London. We then, with God's help, will do our utmost to answer you, either by way of London and Charlestown, or by Pennsylvania; and if the Conference here wishes to send some Resolution direct to you it will also send a copy to Br. Marschall and the Bethlehem Conference.

Letter, Marshall to Ettwein.

Bethlehem, Nov. 28, 1763.

My tenderly beloved Ettwein,—

Probably with this you will have received the letter from Europe, by which you are informed that the position of Oeconomus of Wachovia has been given to me, its duties to be carried on from here, and that you are Vice Oeconomus. The Saviour places us again under one yoke. Gladly would I have begun my work by coming to Wachovia in Br. Jacob Loesch's company, and I think those in Germany would be glad

if this could be done, but the unnatural and unhuman treatment of our people on account of the Indian War makes it impossible, and I cannot even set a time in the future when I can come. [Then he gives an account of the attempt to fasten on the Moravian Indians the blame for certain outrages committed, and the trial of the Indian Brother, Renatus, which ended in his acquittal.] * * *

Concerning Wachovia we see from the Minutes of the Conference held in Europe that in the middle of the Tract a place is to be selected for a new town, which shall be the chief town of Wachovia. * * * Bethabara has not had the same appointment from the Saviour, but happened accidentally, because of the wretched hut which was found, and which could not well be left because of the lateness of the season. For His people's sake the Saviour, indeed, has not left it without His blessing; but all circumstances indicate that, at least for the present, He does not desire it to grow, for it looks as though it would die out. * * *

Br. Jacob Loesch came with the intention of ending his days in Pennsylvania, and with that in view to secure quarters for his family for next summer, but he is like an old coachman who hears the crack of the whip. He heard of the proposed changes; perhaps he will be one of those who begin the new town; at least he has himself decided to stay there a while longer, and I am glad.

1764

Letter, Marshall to Ettwein.

Bethlehem, Aug. 19, 1764.

My much-loved Ettwein,—

Yesterday I returned from a visit to our Country Congregations. As far as Lititz, Nathanael [Seidel] was with me. There we met George Loesch, who told of your well-being, and now I find him here. His intention is that, as soon as he has returned to his father's, he will go to you, with Adam Loesch. He will therefore arrive quite a while before us, and I take advantage of the opportunity to send to you and all of you the greetings of our entire Conference. * * *

Concerning our journey to you we have as yet had no conference, as I only came home yesterday, but we will probably leave the beginning of October.

But one thing I would ask, it is this.— That you will prevent any of the places from putting off Choir Festivals or other services because of the expected visit. Such postponements have often spoiled the whole matter, and instead of being able to hold conferences the entire time has been filled with services. So I would beg that everything be done in the usual way, and nothing postponed for us. Then I need not take part in preaching and holding services, any more than I do here, for the duties of a Senior Civilis are different from those of a pastor and preacher, and are steadily becoming more accurately defined.

I shall also be glad if you and Br. Graff will prepare the business in advance, so that I be not troubled with matters to which I cannot attend.

THE LOT

[The following explanation of the use of the lot forms the preface to a MS. book in which the record of the lots tried in Wachovia are recorded. It is an extract from the Minutes of the General Synod of the Unitas Fratrum, held in 1764. In the earlier years of Wachovia all important questions were settled in Bethlehem; so the use of the lot in Wachovia did not begin until August, 1757.]

The lot is given to us as a Urim and Thummin, and the Lord our Saviour employs it in the government of the Unity; and the greater the gift the more careful must we be in the use of it.

No one must use the lot unless his faith is strong, nor unless there is need. In using it a man must not feel: "Dear Saviour, I hope you will think as I do," but must be in such a frame of mind that with his whole heart he can say: "Dear Saviour, I know nothing, I make no choice, show me Thy will and I will be obedient thereto." The lot is inimitable, and has proved its worth among us in many thousand cases, but in its use it is highly important that a man be closely united to Him. If a man be not joined to Him in heart he will not fare well if he tries to imitate it. The Holy Ghost teaches us how we shall use the lot, and we, as children, must willingly follow His direction.

It is the more important to use the lot with the greatest circumspection, as its misuse would place us in utmost danger, and might have the most unfortunate results. The lot is a blessing if a man, in communion with our dear Lord, first carefully considers a question, and finding it impossible to decide, and unable to help himself, asks help of Him; so is he the more thankful when the Lord gives an answer.

It is of the highest importance, when the lot is used in Conference, that the matter be thoroughly discussed before a question is asked; for example, before anyone is proposed for Reception his mind and his outward circumstances shall be fully learned from the Choir officers and the important points considered. No one shall be proposed for the Holy Communion unless we are assured that he has received the forgiveness of his sins, and has obtained life through the wounds of Jesus.

The lot must never be used as a matter of convenience. And that we may act with more assurance a blank lot shall also be used when we ask the Saviour about something. Much depends on the words in which the question is framed, so it is well to write out the question before the lot is drawn, and to record it in the Minutes in the exact

words. The blank lot will indicate either that the matter is not yet ready for the question, or that a better proposal can be found; therefore the wording should be studied until there seems no ambiguity in it in the mind of any one present.

No one must use the lot for a matter which is not in his own hands.

We will not limit the freedom of a Brother, and therefore will neither forbid nor authorize any one to use the lot for himself, not even a minister. Each man is himself answerable for his private use of the lot. An Oeconomus shall not try the lot alone concerning congregation matters, but it shall be done in the Conference. If any one doubts whether he shall go to Communion the Choir Pfleger shall not try the lot, as that is the duty of the Aeltesten Conferenz, though if there are special reasons given him he shall respect the confidence.

It will be well, if Brethren or Sisters wish to ascertain the will of the Lord in any matter, that they bring it before the Aeltesten Conferenz, for this will strengthen their faith, and will keep them from trying the lot in private.

It is important that the lot and the results reached through it are not discussed outside the Conference before the proper time, for neglect of this precaution has often had evil results.

Each Aeltesten Conferenz shall record the lots in a book, apart from the Minutes, so that they can easily see whether any matter has already been so decided, without having to look through the Minutes of several years.

[Lots drawn prior to 1764 were copied from the Minutes of the Aeltesten Conferenz before current entries were made.]

1764. WACHAU OR DOBBS PARISH

[The following is translated from a manuscript, bearing the above title, which is unsigned but can have been written by no other than Christian Gottlieb Reuter, the surveyor of Wachovia. It contains his observations as to the native trees, shrubs, plants, animals, birds, snakes, insects, etc., which he found in this section of North Carolina, and notes their uses, where they had any, so far as he knew, which incidentally brings in quite a bit of old-time medicine. It also lists the plants, etc., which the Brethren had introduced into Wachovia. The manuscript is particularly difficult to read, partly because of the character of the script and the ornate capitals, and more because of the abbreviations and certain colloquial endings, *gen* instead of *chen* for instance. Many of the names are in German, with the English equivalent of that day written in the margin, some are in phonetic English, some in German only. In the translation both German and English names are retained, when both appear in the manuscript, in other cases that form is used which Reuter employed, except where the meaning of a German name is very apparent,—*Apfel*, for example. Untranslated German names are indicated by brackets in the translation. The German names are retained because in many cases the description given is not sufficiently detailed to ensure accurate, scientific identification, and in a few instances the paralleled English name is otherwise applied than it would be today. This in itself is of interest, though the greater value of the manuscript lies in the point of view of an educated European of the Eighteenth Century,—a close observer, though possibly neither a botanist nor zoölogist,—who was absorbed in the study of the New World, with its flora, fauna and folk-lore.]

1) The Wachau is not hilly, but really mountainous, though the mountains are not higher than those on which Herrnhag is built, or Bethlehem [Pa.]. The ridges are so joined together that no matter where I stand it is possible to go to any other part of the land that I wish without crossing a stream, though the path may resemble the moves of a piece in a game of draughts. And as the mountains are all about the same height it is easy to understand that one can get two different profiles of the land. The ridges give an almost straight horizontal line, and that is why the country looks practically level when seen from the Arrarat Mountains or from the Pilot. But the other and more correct profile can easily be pictured, especially

when one takes a map and traces the hundreds and thousands of valleys, some of them long valleys taking one, two or three, or even seven and eight hours to traverse. The mountains are not high, as already stated, and are generally steep on one side and of gradual slope on the other. On account of the many mountains, and the usual steepness of one side, and the deep and boggy streams, it is difficult to make good, direct roads, or at least it takes an expert to lay them out.

2) *Concerning the land.*

When the land has been settled it will be said that it is a fruitful land, but the Brethren have been the first to cultivate it, and beyond what they have used it all lies wild. Therefore all that can be said is that it is land on which everything grows that is planted. It has wood for building and for burning; good water; stone, and clay for brick in sufficient quantity. Soft or boggy land is called *swamp*, there is plenty of this in the valleys and along the creeks, and it is the true meadow land, though I prefer the following if it can be watered. (b) *Bottom* is the low, flat, dry land along the creeks, and it has usually the finest and strongest trees of the forest, oak, poplar, mulberry, hickory, maple, ash, and birch, and it is the best land for fields and meadows. The interesting thing about these Bottoms and Swamps is that they are so precisely defined, that the bed of a stream usually has them for banks on each side. (c) *Lowland* is properly the lower, sloping land, but there is very little of this in the Wachau, for the Lowland is Bottom, and then the Upland follows immediately. (d) *Upland* is all the land that is neither Swamp nor Bottom. (e) *Ridge* is the high part of the Upland, and is very often spoken of, for it is the custom here, so far as possible, to lead the road along a Ridge. So it comes to pass that in the network of ridges there is scarcely a hundred-acre piece to be found that has no water, and yet a man who does not know the land may travel for many miles and not see a single drop.

3) *About Trees and Shrubs.*

1) *Oak*, that is (a) White Oak; the strongest tree (with the exception of some poplars). The best building wood; also very good for burning, and the potter particularly likes it because it makes few coals and burns almost entirely to ashes. It generally grows on poor soil, and where it is thickest there the Upland is not so good. It has good acorns.

(b) Swamp Oak, also a White Oak, which grows very large in the Bottoms. The axle of a water-wheel is generally made from it.

(c) Post Oak appears to be a kind of stunted White Oak, but there are some fine trees. Gives good wagon-wood. Grows on the poorest land.

(d) Black Oak has a bark that looks black. Has a long, slender trunk, and is therefore preferred for building timber. Has large acorns, but they are not as sweet as those of the White Oak. Also grows on the best land.

(e) Spanish Oak; the bark looks bluish rather than black. The character of the wood places it next to Black Oak for building purposes. The interesting fact about this tree is that in spring it can be tapped, and a vinegar made from the sap which can be used for salad, and acts like any other vinegar, and is as good as that made from wine.

(f) Black Jack Oak has wood like a stunted Black Oak, but the leaves are stronger. Grows on poor land.

(g) Chestnut Oak has wood and leaves almost like a Chestnut Tree, but the nut is a very thick acorn.

(h) Willow Oak has small, pointed leaves, like a Willow. Has small acorns; is a strong wood and good for building. Grows in the Bottoms. Has the best bark for tanning sole leather.

(i) Ground Oak is a low bush bearing acorns like hazelnuts. From this has come the saying that in America the hogs grow so large that they can eat the acorns from the trees.

2) *Hickory* grows on the best land, and is the most common tree in the Wachau, for it grows nearly everywhere. Has a beautiful, straight trunk; has leaves and odor almost like the Walnut of Europe, and bears nuts of a similar flavor. The nuts, however, have hulls, and are as hard as almonds. The wood is used by the Millwright; is also the best fire-wood. There are several varieties:—(a) Sliver Hickory; the trunk grows almost like a fir in height, and quite straight, the bears climb it well. It has the best nuts. (b and c) are two varieties of white and red Hickory; the first has bitter nuts, grows mostly in the Upland. (*Note in margin.* Bitter Hickory hulls and alum dye yellow. White Hickory has the bitter nuts.)

3) *Walnut* grows in the best Bottom land, and is of two kinds. (a) Black Walnut is the best and most valuable wood in this country for joiner's work; it is a beautiful brown. The nuts are indeed walnuts, with outer hulls which are used in dyeing, but the nuts cannot

be opened with a knife, as there is no division in the shell. (b) White Walnut is also good cabinet wood, but not equal to the above.

4) *Poplar* has the strongest and tallest straight trunk, so that often four or five logs for planks can be cut from one trunk, and most of our boards are made from this wood; it is, however, a soft wood, which easily swells and shrinks; and when burned it makes no coals. It bears no fruit, but in spring has a beautiful blossom.

5) *Ash*. A tree much like Walnut or Hickory; grows in the Bottoms; is good wood for wagon-making; and is very good fire-wood, particularly liked by the baker. It is a protection against snakes.

6) *Chestnut*. The nut is good raw, and is generally eaten that way. One expects to find the tree on the poorest land; the wood is good for shingles, rails and fences, as it weathers well; it is not good fire-wood on account of the sparks it throws out. A palatable coffee can be made from the chestnuts. They are cut into small pieces, which can be ground in a coffee-mill; the bits are dried in the sun or on a warm plate to preserve them, and are parched like coffee when they are to be used.

(b) *Chincapin* is a bush with leaves and wood like a Chestnut. The nut also is like a chestnut, though small as a hazelnut, and the bush bears heavily. All sorts of creatures eat the nuts, especially turkeys and bears. It blooms like a Chestnut.

7) *Beech*. (a) Red Beech grows only in the valleys. It also bears nuts, but the wood is not as good for burning as the European variety, though the distiller likes to use it. (b) Horn-beam or White Beech also grows only in or around the valleys. (c) Water Beech does not look like a Beech, though it is a handsome tree. The wood does not split well; the potter makes his wheel from it, and for firkins it is without parallel. It grows quickly, has a great mass of green leaves, and the wood takes a drawing-knife well.

8) *Birch* grows only near the streams; makes large trees.

9) *Maple*. A tree of medium size and of attractive shape. The leaves are between Birch and Beech. Grows only in valleys, and is the first to bud in the spring. It has a red blossom, but no fruit. The sap is so sweet that some sugar can be boiled from it; and so plentiful that some use it for a drink at the time it is rising. It flows best on clear, cool nights in spring. (*Marginal note*. The wood is good on a turning-lathe, and makes good charcoal.)

10) *Sugar Tree*. Much like the Maple. Some make sugar from the sap, but it is more expensive than to pay 1 shilling for ordinary sugar.

Not many of these in the Wachau, only a few on the south side of the Dorothea, Wach and Ens.

11) *Gum*. (a) Sweet Gum is a fine tree, much like White Oak. A rosin flows from the tree, when an opening is made, which furnishes a good rough powder; it is said that this may be Liquid Storax. The wood is not good for much except very thin boards. (b) The plain Gum tree has better wood, but no gum. However, neither sort is much used, since there are better woods.

12) *Linden* is a pretty tree; grows in the Bottom. Nothing has surprised me more than that so far I have seen no Linden blossoms.

13) *Mulberries*, black, grow in the good Bottom lands; nearly every valley has some.

14) *Willows* make pretty trees in the Bottoms; and in the Swamps send up sprouts which are used in the making of baskets and the like.

15) *Umbrella Tree*. The Indians call it *Ka-hu*. The Germans call it Cucumber Tree, because the fruit looks like a small cucumber. Some call it Laurel Tree, and that is probably the more correct, for it has seeds like a laurel, though they grow more like a pine or fir cone. It is the most attractive tree, and would be an ornament to any lawn. It has large, white blossoms; the fruit is red; and the leaves are more than a foot long and proportionately broad. The wood is very soft. Grows only in good Bottoms.

16) *Paw-Paw* grows in the best Bottom lands; is no sturdy tree, and at most one foot through. It has beautiful leaves, almost like the above, and fruit like a pear or cucumber, so that it can easily be mistaken for the Cucumber Tree. The fruit is ripe when the weather becomes cold; has a pleasant taste. The bark makes good cord or bast.

17) *Persimmon Tree* or *Persummens* as it is called here. Has fruit which is good to eat after the frost has touched it. There are no large trees. It has a gum, and some years ago a premium was placed on this, to be paid to whoever gathered it.

18) *Plums* grow chiefly in the little valleys; have small, blue plums which taste sweet and are borne abundantly.

19) *Pine* grows in certain places on the Upland, where the soil is not of the best, but is sandy. Wagon tar is made from it, and fine boards.

20) *Elms* are fine trees; grow in the Bottoms along the brooks, and look almost like birches.

21) *Dog's Wood* is so called because it stinks. It grows around the valleys, does not become large, but is hard, and is good on the turning-lathe. Has leaves much like a pear.

22) *Black Horses* [Black Haw] also grows in the valleys, and attains about the size of an apple-tree. The fruit looks like the Sheep-berry, and is good and wholesome to eat. Blossoms like the Elder.

23) *Sourwood* has leaves much like a lemon tree; has a taste like mineral water. Bears sprays of white flowers that look like lilies-of-the-valley and with almost the same odor. The bees seek them eagerly. Grows on the poorest Upland, and is about as large as Plum trees.

24) *Wild Cherries*. The tree is not very large. The cherries are black and small, but can be eaten. Grows in valleys.

25) *Sassafras* grows on good Upland, in the Bottoms, and nearly everywhere in Wachau. It makes good trees. The leaves are much the shape of a grape-leaf; bears yellowish flowers like orange-blossoms, which are followed by red berries. All has an odor, leaves, wood and blossoms; and it is much used in medicine to purify the blood. Birds eat the berries.

26) *Plane Tree*. There are a few in the large Bottoms toward the south.

27) *Witch-Elm*. Even fewer.

28) *Elder* grows in sunny spots in the Bottoms and along the creeks. There is one kind which has berries that remain red, and these are good to eat raw.

4) *Wild woody plants and bushes.*

1) *Grape-vines* are the most plentiful, and are found on Bottoms and Uplands, but are of various kinds. Most have blue grapes; a few remain red, but are very good; white I have found only once, but there are such. The Bottom Grape-vines sometimes grow up one side of an oak-tree and down on the other, with branches one hundred feet long and eight inches thick; this kind has small grapes. Another small kind, called Fox Grapes, also grows on trees in the Bottoms, and hangs so full of grapes that sometimes a whole basket-full can be picked from one vine; from these the real "Bottom wine" is made, but it is very dark red, and thick. The Upland Grapes are the best, and as already said various kinds of wine and vinegar can be made from them.

2) *Bramble-berries* (Brombeeren) grow in the valleys and in cultivated fields.

3) *Raspberries* (Himbeeren) also in the valleys, but not so plentiful as Bramble-berries.

4) *Hazel Nuts* grow in the valleys in sufficient numbers.

5) *Hip-Trees* (Hagebutten) grow here and there, but not so large as in Germany. I mean the red variety; there is also a White Thorn.

6) *Hops* grow in sunny Bottoms; our cultivated ones are taken from them.

7) (*Pfaffen Riesel*) grows in rich Bottoms. Has a beautiful, red growth. The wood is good for measuring rods.

8) (*Lorbeeren*) are plentiful in the Bottoms; are red when ripe.

9) *Box Tree or Laurel*, grows on stony hills, or by brooks in cool places. Is good wood from which to carve all sorts of things. Stays green in winter.

10) *Holly Tree* (Stech Palme) grows in rich Bottoms; stays green in winter; makes a good tea for use in fevers.

11) *Alder Tree* (Erle) grows no larger than a bush; grows in cold, wet places. The skins are used for dyeing black.

12) *Bilberry* (Heidel Beeren) on Uplands, and not on the best soil.

13) *Bog Root* comes up each year, and bears black berries. See Sumach.

14) *White Thorn* grows in the Bottoms; is a Hawthorn.

15) *Touch-me-not* is a shrub bearing yellow blossoms like a cow-slip; when they are ripe a light touch makes them pop open. The flowers dye yellow.

16) *Sensitive Brier* is a thorn bush resembling vetch; bears blue flowers in spring and yellow flowers in the fall. Has the peculiarity that when one touches only one leaf all the leaves on the bush close. Grows most freely on dry land.

17) *Sumach*. Is a rich, red, shrub-like plant, with broad, rich leaves which the Indians smoke like tobacco. It grows on fertile Uplands, and in winter dies down like other plants. The wood is a well-known, good, black dye. Ink can also be made from it.

18) *Green Brier*, a small thorn, of which the leaves remain green in winter. It has long branches, like a grapevine, which are so full of thorns that when one gets into them it is difficult to extricate one's self. Grows chiefly in the Bottoms. Some believe that the Crown of Thorns of the Saviour was made from such thorns. The leaves are very good to lay on old, scorbutic sores.

19) Of *poisonous plants* there are several which should be included here.—(a) The vine which so often grows up the Sweet Gum. (b) Another vine which bears small black grapes which a stranger might easily mistake and eat for real grapes. (c) A third kind has a pretty, yellow blossom shaped like a white lily.

20) *Reeds* grow in the poorest Bottoms, and are often 20 ft. high. Are good winter forage for the cattle that roam in the woods. In addition they furnish our pipe-stems. Every seventh year they bear seeds like small oats; I have also seen kernels. On account of the many cattle in the Wachau the Reeds are becoming somewhat less plentiful.

21) All trees sometimes appear as bushes, that is recognized, but *Ground Oak*, *Chincapins* and *Willow* are properly included in this list.

22) (*Klein Kirschen*) grow no higher than Bilberries on dry grass land.

23) *Red Bud* has saplings. In spring bears beautiful violet-red flowers, followed by pods and little beans. The wood is red streaked. Grows in good, warm soil.

24) *Ling-Weed* is covered with white flowers that have a pleasant odor.

5) *Fruit Trees and woody plants that have been brought here, and that do well.*

1) *Apple Trees*, very many.

2) *Pear Trees*, a few.

3) *Peaches*, very many.

4) *Apricots*, a few.

5) *Sweet Cherries*, a few.

6) *Sour Cherries*, a few.

7) *Quinces*.

1) *White Grapes*.

2) *Gooseberries*.

3) *Garden Currants*.

4) *Clove Gilliflower*.

5) *Roses*.

6) *Privet*.

6) *Wild Plants*.

1) *Calves Foot* (Aaron) is good for asthma and lung trouble; the dried roots are taken in honey or syrup. It is plentiful here in rich places in Bottoms and meadows. There are two varieties,—that of the Uplands is the prettier and has three leaves, that of the meadows is the thicker.

2) *Angelica* grows very plentifully here on the hills, in rich soil. Is reputed to be an antidote for poison.

3) *Andrew Cross* is a Snakeroot, which like all Snakeroots is most efficacious when boiled in milk and drunk and also applied externally. It is a small, dark green plant, with leaves that form an Andrew's Cross, whence the name.

4) (*Allermanns Harnisch*), like a large nettle. Grows in rich places in Bottoms and Uplands; is useful in curing wounds.

5) (*Adernessel*). There are not many.

6) *Scapurslane* (Back Bung) grows in the meadows along the water.

7) *Bertram Snakeroot* has leaves almost like the White Lily. It is a pretty plant; has a stem with a white club. The bulb is used as a laxative.

8) *Bear's Breech* (Baren Klau). The root laid on a snake-bite causes the swelling to subside; this followed by Bog-Root cooked in milk and drunk brings a cure.

9) (a) *Belly Root or Belly Weed* grows rapidly in old fields. The plant looks almost like a young cherry tree; has a bunch of blossoms at the top which turn scarlet. It has a strong root, which is good for colic or stomach-ache. (b) *Brionia* is a strong laxative. (c) *Brown Betonia* cures when applied externally, and is also good as a tea.

10) *Pimpernell* grows in the woods but not in the meadows. Here resembles the Tansy.

11) *Fennugreek* (Bockshorn), like Maiden Hair or Fern, grows in rich, clear places, has a small, brown stem, and roots that are black on the outside. The plant is used as a tea for colds, coughs, etc.

12) *Boneset* is so called because the Indians use it as splints in binding a broken arm or leg. The plant looks much like Willow, and has white on stem and leaves. It grows in large patches, but is not often found; most frequently on the roots of fallen trees.

13) *Buffalo Clover* is a particularly large clover, of which these animals, that is the Buffaloes, are very fond.

14) *Plantain* (Breiter Wegerich) exists in sufficient quantities, and grows fairly large on rich soil. In the spring the leaves can be cooked like cabbage.

15) *Blue Lilies* are almost the first flowers that bloom in the spring here. They remain quite small, and smell like Violets. On the contrary the Wood Violets here have no odor.

16) *Water Cress* grows more or less in all springs here. Is particularly good for lung trouble.

17) *Nettles*. (Brennessel). (a) The plain Nettle grows in rich Bottoms or in open places, but stings little or not at all. (b) Bog Root

looks much like Sumach; has a black, long-shaped berry resembling Elder-berry. It is a sappy plant, with a red stem. The leaves laid on a swelling are better than Elder; also the roots when crushed and applied. Cooked in milk and drunk, and the residue applied to the bite, it cures snake-bite. (c) (Butter Poppeln), see Mallow. (d) (Brunelle, Zimmermans Kräutel).

18) *Acorus*, or *Calamus*, now grows wild in sufficient quantity in the meadows, but was first brought here by the sainted Kalberlahn. Whether it grows wild in other places I do not know.

19) *Cancer-Weed* grows on the Uplands; has leaves almost like Brown Thistle, which have stems bearing small blue flowers like those on Ground Ivy. It is the best remedy for a cancer which is just beginning. The whole plant including the root is broken up, and is rubbed on the sore, which should heal in three days. (b) *Carpenter Leaf* grows in the meadows, and is good for healing fresh wounds; the small leaves look like peach leaves.

20) *Fluellin* (Ehren Preis) grows erect here; has somewhat woolly leaves.

21) *Strawberries* grow very well here, but seldom on ground that has never been cultivated.

22) *Holy Herb* (Eissen Kraut.)

23) *Erbert's Snakeroot*. Has pretty leaves like little Aloes, and in the midst a stem about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high on which a knob grows like on onions.

24) *Thoroughwax* (Durchwachs) has yellowish white flowers. Is good for healing.

25) *Thistles* are of various kinds, some large and thick.

26) (*Dictam Weissen*). The roots are often used by women in illness.

27) *Fern*. A good handful of the brown wool or hair from the stems cooked in milk and drunk cures dysentery.

28) *Fern Snakeroot* grows in the richest Bottoms; has a leaf like fern or parsley. It is the best Snakeroot, and the hunter likes to carry it with him. If any one is bitten by a snake the first thing done is to bind the limb above the bite, then a piece of this root is chewed, the juice is swallowed and the chewed piece is applied to the wound, which should be cured within two hours. If the hunter can get it fresh he prefers it that way, and the oftener and harder he can chew it the better, for the poison makes him very dry. If a man is at home and can take one part of this and two parts of Milk Snakeroot, and cook them in milk, the patient can be cured even though his entire body has swelled.

29) *Fox Weed* (Läuse Kraut). The plant resembles Masterwort. Cooked and used as a wash it removes lice.

30) *Maiden Hair* grows in shady, rich, clear places; looks much like the Little Fern or (Englesüss). The roots, fastened in a cloth, are good for red or watery eyes. Makes a wholesome tea.

31) (a) *Five Finger Grass*. (b) (*Flöh Kraut*) grows along roads etc. It is a small, red, stemlike weed. The sap is expressed, and cures wounds and galled horses.

32) *Wild Tansy* (Gänssrich) grows in good, grassy places.

33) *Grass Snakeroot* looks much like the grass for mowing. It has small, yellow flowers, and grows from a bulb. This bulb is used to rub on a snake-bite, and is one of the best.

34) *Golden Root* grows something like yellow Violets, and has small, yellow blossoms. The plant has an Anise smell, and is much used for tea. We have used this tea sometimes for our Sabbath Love-feasts.

35) (*Geiss Bart*) is a small plant which generally grows in thickets. It is yellow-green in color, but looks almost like a sappy Five Finger Grass, or like Elder leaves. In the spring it is cooked as greens.

36) *Crow's Foot*, or *Ranunculus*.

37) (*Halbe Gaul*) grows plentifully in the meadows. It is not wanted in hay, but can be cooked as greens.

38) *Colt's Foot* (*Hassel Wurzel*) prefers rich, shady places. It has leaves like a Mallow. The roots have a very strong odor, and are used with success as a medicine for sheep. Pernicious use is also made of it by men.

39) *Hypocaquana* is a Snakeroot which is often used by the apothecary. It is a laxative.

40) *Horse Weed*, or *Richland Weed*, grows around fallen trees and in Bottoms. It looks much like a strong Nettle or young Bog Root. It has a strong stem, which some use for drinking reeds. The plant is applied to swellings on men and horses, that is after the swelling has been pressed.

41) (a) *Heart Snakeroot*, the English call it Milk Snakeroot. The leaf looks like a heart, or a large Sorrel leaf. It is cooked in milk with Fern Snakeroot, or alone, and is a powerful antidote for the bite of a snake.

(b) *Hedge Mustard* (*Hederich*) is a weed, like rape; grows in the grain. Can be eaten as greens.

42) *Jessamin* grows on the Uplands; is redish.

43) *Indian Physic* resembles (Klebe Kraut), with three, or at the most four leaves together at intervals along the stem. The roots are numerous, and a good handful put into a quart of water and boiled down to a pint furnishes a fine purgative.

44) *Indian Balsam*, a large Mallow; is healing.

45) *Indian Tobacco* has leaves much like Brown Betonia, though rougher. The veins of the leaves are brown and strong, almost like those of a Thistle. It is used for healing, one or more leaves being laid on the wound. The Indians use it for healing their pocks. It is also a Snakeroot.

46) *Indian Beans* resemble garden Beans, though they are small. They grow abundantly in the woods, especially on good soil. Cattle, horses and sheep eat them eagerly.

47) *Winter Cherries* (Juden Kirschen) here are good to eat. Some stay green, others turn red.

48) *Woodbine* (Je länger je lieber). A small, blue blossom, so called because of its subtile beauty. Otherwise it is only a flowering grass. *Amora dulcis*.

49) *Wild Indigo* grows abundantly here on poor land. I have not heard that any use is made of it, but it is good to keep away flies when stuck around horses.

(b) *Indian Hemp* much resembles the Pleurisy Root; is bitter.

50) A plant of which I do not know the name has leaves much like the White Lily, but thicker and more tender; is better to eat than Spinach, and many experiments have been made with it at Bethania. It has blue flowers that from a distance look like the Blue Lily that grows here. It grows in fertile soil.

51) *Clover*, white and red.

52) *Burdock*, (Kletten,) a good deal.

53) (*Kröten Balsam*).

54) *Iron Wort* (Krotten Kraut).

55) (*Küss Pappelle*).

56) *Wild Cress* grows in the yards here, though it has another name. It is very good in cases of fever. The Indians, and others, take this plant and *Indian Physic* and let it stand over night in Child Rum. Then they undress the patient, place hot stones under him and pour water over them and make him drink the Rum, and let him sweat until the sweat has something of the odor of the herb. Then they put him to bed, and let him continue to sweat.

57) (*Klebrich*) has triple leaves like the Bean. In Germany people use it for coloring Easter Eggs yellow.

58) *Love-Ache* (Liebstöckel). The wild is like the cultivated.

59) *Lady Shoes*, some call it *Indian Shoes*. It is a Snakeroot, and the Indians know how to use it for many things. Has a yellow or white blossom which is exactly the shape of a wooden shoe. Grows in rich Uplands.

60) *Lusch* grows in swamps and wet places. The cooper uses them.

61) *Lilies*, see Blue Lilies.

Lady Finger, a kind of Fleabane, but not sharp. The leaves always have some black on the stems.

62) *May Apple*, much like Bear Breech. Has a star-leaf with six points. Produces a small apple like a potato, or the size of a small hen's egg, which is good to eat. It is used as a purgative, and also furnishes a strong purge for horses.

63) *Mutter Wort*; aromatic; grows about an ell high; has pointed leaves like Willow, but bluish and rough. Has a pleasant odor, like Balsam.

64) (*Meister Wurzel*) is a kind of large (Fünffingerkraut), but pointed, and it seeds itself like Celery or Parsley. Is good for wounds and also for diarrhoea.

65) *Milk Weed* or *Plurisy Root* prefers stony ground; has leaves like an Orange tree, and a brown stem. It grows about one foot high, and at the top has one or more bunches of pretty, white, little flowers. It is good for plurisy and sore throat,—a little of the root cooked and drunk does wonders.

66) *Mechoacana* has a stem like Bindweed, but few leaves and they are brown. Has roots like Sweet Potatoes, and when they are dried, or a syrup cooked from them, and this is taken it serves as a laxative, and has almost more value than Rhebarbara.

67) *Milk Snakeroot*, see Heart Snakeroot.

(*Maus Oehrgen*), see White Plantain.

68) *Night-Shade* is a well-known weed in gardens. It has black berries which often kill the hogs that eat them, but otherwise it is a proved remedy for old, open scorbutic sores or salt rheum, the leaves being continually applied.

69) *Agrimony* (Odermännig) looks much like Wild Tansy, grows abundantly on Uplands and Bottoms. Has a strong odor; is good.

70) *Mallows* (Papeln). There are all kinds here, especially the (Butter Papel) which can be used in spring as salad.

71) *Rush* or *Bulrush* (Binsen). The pith is good for wicks in night-lights.

72) *Plurisy Root*, see Milk Weed.

(b) *Hen Bane or Hogs Bane* (Bilze). The seed is good for tooth-ache, when it is smoked. It also makes good oil.

73) *Wild Creeping Thyme*, (Quendel), pretty and large.

74) (*Quecken*), enough; it is a grass.

75) (*Raden*) grows in wheat and rye, often very abundantly.

75) (*Radix Cardomumae*) smells almost like Cardamom. Has small, slender leaves like Pine needles. Grows on barren Upland. Its use is unknown.

76) (*Roth Wurzel*), like Hops and Bramble Berry branches, purifies the blood; also makes good tea.

77) *Robert's Plantain* is the best Snakeroot. It looks like small Tobacco; grows on Upland in soil that is not the best, and usually there is much at one place. The quickest and simplest use of it by men and cattle is to crush leaves and roots, shake it in water, and so take it, or eat it. In spring it has a blossom larger than a Daisy.

78) (a) (*Rosen*, see Hagebutzen).

(b) *Richland Weed*, see Horse Weed.

79) (*Schein Blumen*) grow on poor soil; see White Plantain.

80) *Solomon's Seal*, looks much like white Dictam, and has a root like it, but it has a white spray which toward fall bears red berries, like currants, which taste good and are refreshing. The Indians use the plant and the root for many things.

81) (*Sau Börtel*) is a fleshy weed which grows on cultivated land, and especially in gardens. The negroes are accustomed to cook it, and to make salad from it; it smells good and might have a piece of smoked pork cooked with it. It is also good raw as salad. Many virtues are ascribed to it,—it is said to be good for scanty urine, for worms, to induce sleep; it is cooling and wholesome.

82) *Skwas Weed* looks like Goose-grass. Plant and root put into beer and cooked a little makes a drink which is good for pain in the limbs and for female troubles.

83) *Sarsaparilla* grows in rich land and Bottoms. It is a little bush, with a leaf like Linden or (Allermans Harnisch), but the leaves are very thin and tender. Has three, four or more strong roots as thick as a finger; smells almost like crushed Juniper berries. It is much used by the apothecary here as in Europe.

84) (*Sauerrampfer*) is found in sufficient quantities. The house-keepers often cook sorrel broth.

85) *Spanish Fig*. I have seen this in Europe in pleasure gardens. It has thick, prickly, sappy leaves, thick as a finger, and as long and

broad as a hand. On the upper side of the leaf grows a yellow bud from which the fig develops. Here they are generally found on large rocks.

86) (*Schaaf Rieb*, *Schaaf Garbe*) makes a good breast tea. Some eat it in the morning with bread and butter.

87) (*Schiss Milden*) can be eaten as greens.

88) (*Schneit Gras*) grows on sour soil.

89) (*Schaffer Heu*) prefers old fields.

90) (*Schaaf Zunge*) grows in meadows; has a pretty, green leaf much like cabbage.

91) *Black Snakeroot* looks much like Angelica. Is very useful in healing swellings and wounds. It is cooked in water, and the swelling washed with that, and a salve for wounds is also made from it. It is much used by the common folk.

92) *Seneca Snakeroot* grows about a span high, has a white blossom, and leaves like the Bilberry, and a strong root. It is the best Snakeroot, and the one most used by the apothecary, and therefore many hundreds of pounds are shipped away. Its effects as a purgative are most near to nature. N. B. Practically all plants which the Indians are known to use as medicine are called "Snakeroot."

93) (*Stein Klee*).

94) (*Sauer Klee*). A salt is made from this which is used in medicine.

95) *Sow Thistle* is a fleshy, tender Thistle; the leaves have milk when they are young. The cattle eat it gladly, and the leaves can be cooked with other greens.

96) (a) (*Schmilmen*) is a grass which grows in poor ground.

(b) *Samses Snakeroot* is a small plant, resembling Bilberry. Has strong, white roots, which are well-known. If one is bitten by a snake one chews out and swallows the sap, and lays the rest on the bite.

97) *Tea*. The first seed was brought here from Virginia or Maryland. The leaves are much like real Tea, and it is claimed that it really is the Chinese Tea plant, if one only knew how to cure it. Many attempts have been made and abandoned. Now it grows wild here and there, almost like Bilberries. It bears yellow flowers in spring. The sheep eat it gladly.

98) (*Taube Nessel*). There are not many.

99) (*Toll Beere*) is a kind of Bilberry, only larger. I have eaten as many as twenty of the berries at one time, and they strengthen one as though they had spirit in them, therefore too many might intoxicate. Whether they are dangerous I do not know.

100) *Devil's Bit* (Teuffels Abbiss) or *Unicorn* is a small plant, resembles Plantain, and has a similar stem, the flowers of the spike are however quite white. The roots have a relatively strong, aromatic odor, and taste like Calamus bitters. The root is always as stumpy as if it had been bitten off. The Indians dry the roots and carry them with them, and eat a little if the stomach is out of order or if they have no appetite.

101) *Century Plant* grows abundantly here on the Uplands. The people who have come hither from Europe use it much as a tea for fever.

102) *Teedny*, like small Balsam, has a strong odor. The Indians use it with Indian Physic in a drink and then sweat after their fashion,—see 56.

103) *Cockle Weed* (Trespes) is degenerate Rye or Wheat.

104) (a) *Virginia Snakeroot* is small, has leaves like Indian Beans, a white flower much like Seneca Snakeroot, and fibrous but aromatic roots. Is a blood purifier and for sweating. The interesting thing about the leaves is that in the middle it always shows where more are coming, and when there are no more the stem hangs over.

(b) Of *Violets* there are many, but they have no odor.

105) *White Plantain* (Weisser Wegerich) is so called because the outside of the leaf is white. Also called (Maus Oehrgen). Has white blossoms like the yellow (Schein Blümgen). Is good for sweating.

106) (*Wilde Lieb Stöckel*), see Lieb Stöckel.

107) (*Weisse Dictam*), see Dictam.

108) *Bind Weed*, (Winden).

109) (*Wilde Wicken*) is abundant in the woods.

110) (*Wild Kraut*), like a Burdock, is good for healing wounds. It also makes good oil. The flowers fried in butter and applied to infected wounds cures them.

111) *Wild Corn or Rye*. I have found some here on the creeks, and have since read in the Nachrichten that much grows along the Ohio and Mississippi.

(b) (*Wilde Pastinak*) is poisonous.

(c) *Chicory*. (Weg Wart).

112) (*Zaun Rieben*), or Brionia, is a powerful laxative. The plant is a Bind Weed.

113) (*Zimmermans Kräutel*, *Braunelle*) has no equal for the curing of fresh wounds, and takes its name from the fact that men felling trees, if they cut themselves, use it at once. The young leaves can be eaten as salad.

Remarks on Herbs and Flowers. [Written in English.]

The best way to use Flowers and Herbs is to infuse them in Rum, Wine, Beer, or in hot Water like Tea, and drink of them two or three Times a Day, and continue so doing for some Weeks patiently. Several sorts one Nature being mixt together will work more powerfully.

NOTE.—If the Disorder proceed's from over Heat in the Blood the Herbs should be made into Tea but if from Cold use Rum or Wine.

7) *Cultivated Plants and Grain.*

- 1) (*Allant Wurzel*); in Medicinal Garden. Used to make elecampane wine.
- 2) *Althae*. Med. G.
- 3) *Antivien*. Salad in vegetable garden.
- 4) (a) *Appelsine*; a kind of melon with a pleasant odor; veg. gar.
(b) *Anise*; grows like Coriander or Celery.
(c) *Artemisia* (*Beyfuss*). (*Johannes Kraut*); in Med. G.
- 5) *Beans* of all kinds; in vegetable garden.
- 6) (*Beyfuss*) is a laxative; in Med. G.
- 7) *Red Cabbage*, curly.
- 8) *Red Cabbage*, in heads.
- 9) *Basilicum*, is a kind of Marjoram; in Med. G.
(b) *Cotton* has leaves almost like Buckwheat.
(c) *Bellidor*.
(d) *Betonian*; in Med. G.
- 10) *Celery*; a salad.
- 11) *Camillen*; in Med. G. Flor: Camomill: rom.
- 12) *Cappes*.
- 13) *Coriander* grows much like Cress or Anise.
- 14) *Cardui benedictus*; in Med. G.
- 15) *Callabasch*, a kind of Gourd. All sorts of vessels can be made from them; the hunters use them for powder flasks.
- 16) *Cucumber*.
- 17) *Dill*.
- 18) (*Erdrauch*), in Med. G.
- 19) *English Grass*, in the meadows, is good forage.
- 20) *Peas*, that is field Peas, do not do well, for the birds eat them.
- 21) *Fennel*, in the garden and wherever it is planted.
- 22) *Flax*, does well, and the linseed brings a good price.
- 23) *Fox Tail*, a flower.
Fumaria; in Med. G.

- 24) *Barley*. Summer and Winter Barley; four-row, two-row, and field Barley.
- 25) *Garden Rhubarb*; leaf like a Mallow; in Med. G.
- 26) *Yellow Turnips*.
(Gundermann); in Med. G.
Yellow Violets; in Med. G.
Scabiosa; in Med. G.
- 27) *(Haber Wurzel)*.
- 28) *Oats*; two kinds, one beautifully large.
- 29) *Hemp*; used more than formerly. Among other virtues a good drink for the sick can be made from the seed; it is called Hemp Milk.
- 30) *Cockscomb*; a red flower.
- 31) *Hops*. We have a special Hop-garden.
Hoar-hound; in Med. G. Roots and leaves are used as an antidote for poison and Rattlesnake bites, and are called Caesar's Cure.
- 32) *Millet*; so far little use has been made of it.
- 33) *Buckwheat*; does well.
- 34) *Indian Pink*; a flower.
Currants; in vegetable garden.
- 35) *Cabbage* of all kinds for cooking.
- 36) *(Kirbel)* so far has not done well.
- 37) *Mint*; in garden and also in Med. G.
- 38) *Garlic*.
- 39) *Head Lettuce*.
- 40) *(Kapper Rosen)* or) in Med G. Pappao. rubr.
- 41) *(Krinkmagen)*
- 42) *Caraway* is already sown in the meadows.
- 43) *Rye* is more used in the distillery than for bread.
- 44) *Cress*; in garden.
- 45) *Pumpkins*; in field and garden.
- 46) *Cabbage*; three kinds.
- 47) *Irish Potatoes*.
Valerian; in Med. G.
- 48) *White Lilies*.
- 49) *Leek*; is good in soup.
- 50) *(Löffel Kraut)*; good as salad.
Lavender, like Rosemary; in the Med. G.
(Lieb Stöckel); in Med. G.
(Lungen Kraut), Marrubium; in Med. G.
- 51) *(Mangolt)* is good as greens, and the stem is cooked in vinegar.

- 52) *Marjoram*.
- 53) *Melissa*; good breast tea.
- 54) *Hollyhock*.
- 55) *Horse-radish*.
- 56) *Poppy*, from which opium is made.
- 57) *Melilot*; in Med. G.
- 58) *Milk Thistle*; in Med. G.
- 59) (*Milden*); in garden.
- 60) *Melons*, are of two kinds,—*Water Melons* and
- 61) *Mush Melons*, the latter eaten with sugar or pepper.
- 62) *Millefolium*; in Med. G.
- 63) *Neyer Corn* grows like Indian Corn, but the grain is more like rice and is bitter. It is planted for use in making brooms.
- 64) (*Nelken*) or (Grass Blumen.)
- 65) (*Nägelgen*); blue flowers on a small tree.
- 66) *Yellow Narcissus*; a flower.
- 67) *Parsnips*.
- 68) *Sweet Potatoes*; They have good roots which taste much like mashed chestnuts.
- 69) *Perfoliata*; in Med. G.
- 70) *Rue*; in garden and also in Med. G.
- 71) *Red Roses*. The (*Schreck Körner*) is in the Med. G.
- 72) *Rosemary*; Hungary Water is made from it.
- 73) *Summer Radishes*.
- 74) *Radishes*.
- 75) *Turnips*.
- 76) *Rice*. So far only an attempt has been made with this; it was found that in rich land, prepared as for vegetables, it bore well.
- 77) (*Rheinfarren*); in Med. G.
- 78) (*Rittersporn*); in Med. G.
- 79) *Sage*; also in Med. G.
- 80) (*Sau Bohnen*); not much use is made of this.
- 81) *Mustard* prefers a somewhat shady place, but grows like a weed.
- 82) *Salad*, of all kinds, Baltic, Head Lettuce, etc.
- 83) *Spanish Cress*; in Med. G. Has round leaves.
- 84) *Spanish Pepper* is raised in the vegetable garden, and is here used in food.
- 85) *Chives*.
- 86) *Spinach*.

87) *Stone Peas* grow almost wild; they are angular in shape. The birds never bother them, but little use is made of them.

88) (*Spitz Wegerich*); in Med. G. As it does not grow wild here it ought to be one of the best remedies for snake-bite.

89) *Asparagus*.

90) (*Shorlach*); in Med. G.

91) *Black Root*; in Med. G. *Radix Niger*.

92) (*Sclata*), a kind of Sage; in Med. G.

93) *Sun Flower*.

94) *Salsify*.

95) (*Stab Kraut*); in Med. G.

96) *White Grapes* are in the vegetable garden, and a small vineyard of them has been begun near God's Acre.

97) *Tobacco*.

98) (*Timian*).

99) *Turkish Grass*; a special grass, cut for ornament.

100) *Violets*; in Med. G. They are white and have the true odor.

101) *Water Melons* are very sweet and juicy.

102) *Wormwood*.

103) *Wheat*. This is the proper grain for bread.

104) (*Wunder Baum*) was planted here at first, but now has run wild around the town, and is scarcely cultivated any more, though it may yet prove valuable. The berries are so oily it is said the Jews have made their holy oil from them.

105) *Corn* was and is the grain most generally used, and the people of this country live on it. Here not much is raised, though much is bought and sold.

106) *Wild Saffron*; in Med. G.

107) *Hyssop*.

108) *Sugar Peas*.

109) *Onions*.

8) *Fungi or Mushrooms.*

1) In the first place.—In this country men do not bother to provide themselves with a supply of tinder, since it can be cut from all kinds of trees, and it catches a spark as well as the best in Europe. They call it *Punk*, and Hickory and Maple Punk are the best.

2) It is not the custom to eat *Mushrooms* here, though there are several kinds which are edible.

3) *Champinion* are very common.

4) *Oak Ageric*, are yellow, and fairly numerous.

- 5) (*Herren Pilsen*).
- 6) (*Kuh Pilsen*).
- 7) (*Hirsch Schwäme*).
- 8) (*Hahnen Kämme*).
- 9) (*Morgeln*), pointed and broad.
- 10) (*Fliegen Schwäme*), with red and white spotted heads. The birds here do not die after eating them, so they are evidently not poisonous.
- 11) (*Pfifferling*), fairly numerous.
- 12) (*Pofis*).

9) *Stone*.

- 1) *Building stone* can be found everywhere.
- 2) *Whet-stone*; on the Little Johanna. The place is called Whet-stone Hill; is three miles from Bethabara.
- 3) *Mill-stones*; on the Ens, near Sweetens' place.
- 4) *Sand-stone*; found here and there.
- 5) *Flint-stones*; very large; especially in Pine woods.
- 6) Material for *Grave-stones* is found around Pine trees, and here and there throughout the country. It is like Marble or the better grades of Liverstone, and cuts well.
- 7) *Ironstone* can certainly be found here and there, especially on Bear Creek, where the magnet is strongly attracted.

10) *Wild Animals*.

1) *Bears* are rather large, more than 300 lbs. in weight. Bear meat is considered very wholesome, and Bear fat, with salad, is as good as Olive Oil. In my opinion the Bear is remarkable because he eats everything that cattle eat and all that men eat. Then he is a robber animal, eats swine and cows and anything he can get. He eats grass, acorns, chestnuts, grain, nuts, grapes, honey, milk, bread, cooked vegetables, in short everything that a man eats.

2) *Deer* are numerous, but what are here known as (*Hirsche*) are really large (*Rehe*), and those that are (*Hirsche*), properly speaking, are here called "Elks." These latter have moved away, and it is the same in Europe, for the (*Hirsche*) leave the places where the (*Rehe*) are.

3) *Wolves*, black and gray.

4) *Foxes*, Black, gray and red. N. B. Black is always the best.

5) *Painter*, or *Panther*, has the color of a Deer, and is of about the same size, not counting feet. It has large claws, with which it climbs

trees, and head like a cat. It is a cruel beast, eating only fresh meat, will not eat carrion, nor what has been dead only a short time. But they are not numerous, and so soon as one is seen it is killed.

6) *Wild Cats* are also rather large, and kill many young deer.

7) *Raccoon* resembles a Badger; likes to eat corn and other grain. The flesh is eaten, and the hair makes good hats, second only to Beaver.

8) *Possum*, a poor creature with crooked legs; has a head like a dog; can not run fast, but climbs trees. When it has young it puts them back into its body, into a special bag, so that they cannot be seen, and then it slips away with them; when it stops they peep out, and then come running out again. For all that it is a beast of prey and likes to eat chickens and eggs.

9) *Hare* [Rabbits] are a delicate meat, but do not grow large.

10) [*Skunk*] (Piss Katzen) is a creature which looks like a pretty, little cat, generally black and white, but it has a bushy tail like a squirrel. He who comes too near it is horribly repaid by what it throws out, which is a foul fluid which it has in a special sac in its body. The Indians eat its flesh and consider it a delicacy. The fat is very useful as a salve for crushed or dislocated limbs; but it must be killed quickly and suddenly before it can spray you.

11) *Squirrels* are often larger than the Hare here; are grey and black. Some have short wings like a Bat, with the help of which they make long jumps from tree to tree.

12) *Fence Mouse*, a quite small Squirrel, found on fences and in hedges.

13) *Beaver* are the size of a fat Poodle.

14) *Otter* live mostly in water like the Beaver, but the hair is not good for hats, and as it is not the custom to wear furs here the skins are sold and shipped.

15) *Musk Rats*; water animals; like young, fat, Poodle dogs. Brown like Beaver; smell like musk. The skins are generally sold for young Beaver.

16) *Tortoise*; there are two kinds. One is found chiefly on dry land, in the woods; it has shells on top and underneath, and can entirely close itself up. The other has a shell above but only a piece on the belly; has a long, thick tail, a repulsive head, and a bad bite, being able to bite through a fairly thick stick with one snap. They generally stay in the water, though they also go on land. They weigh as much as 20 lbs., and eat ducks, chickens, and anything they can get. The Indians eat them.

17) *Mink* is a water animal, much like a Musk Rat but smaller and not so dark a brown. Its mouth is like a Mouse's with sharp teeth in front, and it eats many fish, but it can breathe in the water as well as a Musk Rat or Beaver. The hair is also good for hats.

11) *Wild Fowl and Birds.*

- 1) *Turkeys*, many, and delicate eating when they are young.
- 2) *Ducks*, often numerous. Some breed in the woods and along the mill-race.
- 3) *Pheasants*, rare.
- 4) *Wild Geese*, come every year.
- 5) *Partridges*, many; small, but delicate of flavor.
- 6) *Wild Pigeons*, numerous, especially in winter.
- 7) *Turtle Doves*.
- 8) *Fly-catcher*; small, and not good to eat.
- 9) (*Wasser Hinckel*).
- 10) *Crows and Rooks*.
- 11) *Falcons*, and all kinds of small birds of prey.
- 12) *Kite*, or *Hawk*.
- 13) *Turkey Buzzard*, a bird that eats carrion; is as large as a Turkey, and has the same kind of feet.
- 14) *Heron*, large, blue, and one kind is entirely white.
- 15) *Owls*, very large, like (*Uhu*), and also smaller kinds.
- 16) (*Gibitzen*).
- 17) *Whip-poor-will*, resembles a Cuckoo, but only calls at night.
- 18) *Mocking-bird*, is certainly a Nightingale.
- 19) *Thrasher*, a light brown bird, larger than the above. Sings sweetly.
- 20) *Cat-bird*, black and white; sings well, but also mews.
- 21) (*Rinschelen*), do not sing well but have red heads.
- 22) *Starlings* make much noise.
- 23) *Thrushes*, I think they must be, though the male is blood-red.
- 24) *Red Heads*, larger than the above; are black and white, do much harm to the corn.
- 25) *Black Woodpeckers*.
- 26) *Green Woodpeckers*.
- 27) *Red Woodpeckers*.
- 28) *Nut-hatch*.
- 29) *Titmouse*.
- 30) *Wagtail*.
- 31) *Wren*.

32) *Swallow*.

33) *Sparrows*, are small.

34) *Finches*.

35) *Siskin*.

36) *Honey Bird* is the smallest of the birds; looks green; has a long bill, and a throat like a hair.

12) *Domestic Animals and Fowls*.

1) Horses. 2) Cows and Oxen. 3) Sheep. 4) Swine. 5) Dogs. 6) Cats. 7) Geese. 8) Ducks. 9) Chickens. 10) Pigeons. 11) Bees.

13) *Fish*.

1) (Shött-fish. 2) Rock-fish. 3) Pike. 4) Perch. 5) Eels. 6) White-fish. All kinds of small fish. The Yadkin swarms with fish. 7) Crawfish.

14) *Snakes*.

Snakes properly belong with the Worms or Vermin, but I have undertaken to make a separate chapter for them because they are more often mentioned than many other cratures, they are feared more than is natural, and unusual precautions are taken against them. Indeed nearly all creatures keep away from them, (field cattle excepted,) although many master them, and they are killed by dogs, swine, bears, etc., as well as men. Besides they are so various, so different in type, color, etc., that they can be classified in families or breeds. And so there are:—

1) *Rattlesnakes*, which men fear the most. In appearance they are streaked brown and blackish, like wood mosaic. In place of a tail they have horn rattles, as many, it is said, as they are years old. I have seen them with thirteen rattles, the snake about four and a half or five feet long, and thick as an arm. If anything goes too near them they rattle the rattles on their tails, and it sounds like a watch running down, and just as regular. Their bite is dangerous, and while many men and animals are cured some die. Their skin and fat are used in medicine, and some people eat the snake. Like all snakes they are cold blooded, and when the fat is cooked it smells like fish-oil.

2) (*Pastart*) looks like a Rattlesnake, and its bite is just as bad, but it has no rattles.

3) *Copper Snake* is not so brown as the Rattlesnake, and I have not seen large ones.

These three Snakes, whose bite is so dangerous, are viviparous, and so soon as the young come forth they begin to bite, even though they are no larger than a bit of linen thread.

4) *Black Snakes* are the largest and swiftest; they climb trees and take birds' eggs out of the nests. Their bite is not dangerous, and does no more harm than a thorn. They lay eggs.

5) (*Blässer*) is a black or slate-colored snake. If one goes too near to it the snake raises itself and puffs itself out until it is quite thick. It is said to blow out poison, and therefore be worse than a Rattlesnake, but I have not heard of any harm being done, and think that this is probably not true.

6) *Striped Snakes* are streaked white, yellow, red, green and black. There are a good many of them, but I have never heard that their bite was harmful.

7) *Water Snakes* are ash-gray, fairly large, and lie out of the water a good deal. I have not heard of their biting. They lay eggs.

8) *Green Snakes* are not large. They sit on the hedges, and look like leaves. They have no teeth and cannot bite, and from this comes the saying that "The bite of a Green Snake may be dangerous."

9) *Horn Snakes*. These strike with the tail, where they have a hard sting, like a needle. Some years ago the doctors offered 20 shillings for one sting. There are not as many of these as of the kinds already named, but they are worse, and their sting is considered incurable. It may be that the flesh where the injury is can be cut out immediately. It is said that when the Horn Snake gets angry it will drive its sting into a tree, and the tree will die within twenty-four hours.

a) It is noticeable in all Snakes that when they lie stretched out, or when they run, they cannot bite, but only when they are coiled, and it appears as if the poison only goes into their teeth when they are angry.

b) Snakes gladly eat milk, eggs, bread, meat, and in general clean food, including fish and birds, indeed they even eat each other, and especially the Black Snake, which has been seen eating a Rattlesnake.

c) Birds of prey, also ducks, chickens and swine, eat snakes.

d) Snakes do not have their teeth for eating, but for protection, like a Wasp his sting, otherwise they would poison their own food. As nothing but their bite is poisonous they can be angered so that they will bite themselves, and then they die quickly. When a Snake bites something inanimate, like clothing, it does not poison it; but if the Snake bites a piece of sappy, green wood, and one sticks the bitten

part into the ground, the poison rises under the bark and runs out at the top. If one who has been bitten will suck the poison out with his mouth it will cure him, and what he sucks out will not harm him.

e) The tradition is that if the Snake can be poisoned by getting part of it in the mouth it will run off and die. It is said that once a Snake bit an Indian, and he, being angry, bit the Snake, which soon thereafter died miserably.

f) Snakes do not run or glide after men to bite them, but only bite when they are accidentally or intentionally attacked.

g) In dry weather one sees few or no Snakes; and when one meets many Snakes it is a sure sign of rain, for the warm air drives them out of their holes.

h) Many use the Snake as medicine. First: Rattlesnake fat melted, and used as a salve for pain in the limbs. Second: the skin stripped off and used for the same purpose. Third: a piece of it laid in water, and the water drunk; used for fever. Fourth: a Rattlesnake tooth which is not poisonous, that is when the Snake was killed before it became angry, is used by the Indians for tooth-ache; they stick the tooth with it.

i) The Snakes have a great dislike for the Ash tree. If a fire is built around a Snake, with a gap left, and an Ash branch is laid across the gap, the Snake will run through the fire rather than across the Ash. If Ash leaves are laid around a Snake he will die inside the circle. Many similar things are told, but I have not seen any of them tried.

k) All Snakes must attract each other. In Jersey, in Monmouth County, in the year 1761, several men dug up a nest of Snakes on a hill, near a spring. There were 52 Rattlesnakes and 19 Black Snakes. The Rattlesnakes had life enough to rattle, but not to defend themselves. They were all in one clump, twined about each other.

15) *Insects, and running and creeping Vermin.*

Here, as everywhere, there is also Vermin, for instance, a) *Mice*, b) *Rats*, c) *Moles*, d) *Frogs*. There are Frogs of various kinds, one particularly which is very large, and is called Bull-frog because when it croaks it makes a sound much like the bellow of a bull. e) *Tree-frogs*, see Toads. f) *Tortoise*, of two kinds. The larger are in the water and have an entire shell over the back, while underneath there is only so much as a broad bar. These Tortoise are bad and destructive, in that they kill and eat geese, ducks and chickens. h) (*Staugen*). i) *Bugs*. k) *Fleas*. l) (*Eyder*). m) *Spiders*, and some with bite

as bad as a Rattlesnake. I have heard of one instance since I have been here. A spider bit a cow belonging to Christel Frey, she wallowed on the ground with pain, the flesh became discolored as from a snake-bite, and the remedies used were the same. n) *Ticks*, of which the young or Seed Ticks, may be counted among the minor plagues of this land in summer, for one can hardly go into the woods without getting full of them. If they have not bitten in, a man can wet his hand, and pass it over the place where they are crawling, they will cling to the hand and can then be washed off. But if they have burrowed into the flesh it is customary to thoroughly smoke the place with smoking tobacco, or to rub it with green tobacco leaves, or with the wild indigo which at that season grows nearly everywhere. Unless something is done restless nights follow. o) (*Erdflöh*) p) *Earthworms*. q) *Crickets*. r) *Snails*, with shells and without. s) *Lice*. t) *Worms*. u) *Ants*. v) *Leeches*. w) *Ground Squirrels*, are a kind of small squirrel, and can be eaten. w) *Glow-worms*, which glow in the dark; and numberless other similar creatures, even x) *Wild Silk-worms*, which hang their cocoons on sassafras and white oak trees, and eat those leaves. They are exactly like the Silk-worms that are raised, and the cocoons are as large as a hen's egg, but the trouble is that no one has been able to learn how to unwind the silk from the cocoon; they are stronger than the usual Silk-worms, and the English have offered a large bounty to anyone who will find out how to unwind this silk.

16) *Flying Vermin and Insects*.

a) *Locusts*. A kind of large grasshopper, which makes a noise with its wings which resembles the rattle of a Rattlesnake, and sometimes, therefore, frightens one. It is supposed that this is the Locust which John the Baptist ate, for the Indians still eat them, as do nearly all animals; bears, swine, chickens and ducks, especially, fatten on them, and it is said that horses and cattle also eat them. These Locusts do the trees much harm, and where they have been the woods look as though there had been a hail-storm. It seems certain that they come only once in seven years, and then sometimes more and sometimes less. The country people are superstitious about them, and when the Locusts come they look on their wings to see whether war or a good time is predicted. There are usually black lines on their thin wings, and the people read them as letters, and say that W means war, P means Peace, and so on.

b) (*Humeln*) are wild Bees that make honey, but build in the ground and only a few together. They are larger than ordinary bees and sting very hard.

c) Wasps are of various kinds, and the small yellow ones are the worst.

d) Grasshoppers, green, black, etc.

d) Gnats and Midges.

e) Beetles.

f) (*Weinschröter*).

g) Flitter-mouse.

h) Bats.

i) Mire-beetles.

k) Hornets. And all sorts of others that one does not know.

17) *Things that at present are not in the Wachau.*

1) Kohlrabi. 2) Millet and Rice. 3) (Kleine Kirschen.) 4) Plums. 5) Olives. 6) Juniper. 7) (Schleen). 8) Lentils and Vetch. 9) Peas, which have not done well here because the birds eat them. 10) Spelt, which looks much like bald barley, but is reddish. 11) Rape, from which oil is made. 12) European Walnuts. 13) Almonds, though I think Almonds would do well here. 14) Goats. 15) Asses. 16) Caning. 17) Roebuck. 18) Wild Hogs. 19) Storks. 20) Mountain-fowl. 21) Moor-fowl. 22) (Gramets Vögel). 23) Larks. And many others are not here. 24) Carp. 25) Herring. 26) Red Herring, for which I have sometimes longed. I have heard that in the lakes in the Indian country there are many Carp. 27) Lime-stone. 28) Slate. 29) Marble. 30) Fine Sand-stone.

18) *Premiums have been offered in the following lines for cultivating the Land and encouraging the people.*

1758. Three Premiums were offered for the planting of *Olive Trees*, viz. he who planted 1,000 trees should have £40; for 800 trees, £30; and for 600 trees £20. In 1760 the Society in London offered a larger amount for the same quantities, namely £50; £40; and £30; "and a Certificate under the Hand of the Governor of the Province that a sufficient proof had been made before him that the Number of Trees mentioned in the said Certificate are under actual improvement and cultivation."

1758. A Premium of £100: was offered for the largest quantity of *Cochineal*, said quantity to be not less than 25 lbs.; and for the next largest amount the Premium was to be £50. This offer was to hold good in all British Colonies, and also in Jamaica.

Item. For *Log Wood*, planted and enclosed, £40: for 500 trees.

Item. For the largest quantity of *Myrtle Wax*, above 500 lbs. £30.; for the second largest quantity, £20.; and for the third £10.

1761. On 1 lb. of *Opium* from Poppy seed, 2 sh. 6d. The best method of making Turkish *Opium* is said to be this:—When the Poppy seed-pod is almost ripe, but still soft and full of sap, four or five incisions are made with a knife around about half of the pod. At each incision a few drops of milky sap come out, and soon harden. Next day this is carefully scraped off with a knife, and this is the best *Opium*. Then the other half of the pod is wounded; and the drops are gathered on the following day. If the pod is cut in the morning it is possible to gather the *Opium* that evening. After all the *Opium* has been gathered it is worked and pounded on a board with a little water, and then it is shaped into cakes or rolls for sale.

Also in 1761 a Premium of 2 sh. 6d. was placed on each pound of *Persimmon Gum*. It is said that in order to procure the gum one breaks off a branch, or makes an incision in the bark of the tree, and then it comes out in quantity during the spring and summer.

1765. In Philadelphia there is a Company that for three years paid 32 shillings a bushel for *Mustard*, and published this method of cultivating it.—A well lying piece of land, garden or field, shall be ploughed two or three times, well harrowed, and cleared of grass. Then sow the seed as thick or somewhat thicker than turnip seed, for the birds will eat some of it. (In fall is the best time to plant, though it can be done successfully in spring also.) Leave the seed uncovered, for the next rain will cover it in the best way. Supposing that it is sowed in the fall prepare the field in this way. If it is to be sowed in the spring plough the field in clean furrows five inches apart, so that one can pass between to weed and to gather the seed. The plants should stand one foot apart in these furrows, and if they come up closer they must be thinned. This is all that needs to be done and then a man can expect a good harvest. If manure is lacking, old hog-dung mixed with ashes is the best.

1764. January 13th, “by an Act of Assembly at Willmington for encouraging the Culture of Hemp and flax and other purposes.” For each Hundred, that is 112 merchantable, pounds of *Hemp*, the person who raised it shall receive 16sh. 8d, Bounty or Premium. For each Hundred of *Flax*, 13sh. 4d. He must, however, bring a Certificate that he himself has raised, retted and cleaned it, and then he must bring an affidavit from the ship’s Captain, and have the name of the ship, showing that the *Hemp* has really been exported, and this

he must show to the Treasurer of "the District where the Hemp or Flax hath been inspected." In effect for five years.

The Assembly offered this Premium to encourage greater production, but there is also a Premium offered by England, but I imagine this could only be secured by merchants, since it is "for the largest quantity of Hemp, but not less than 20 tons, £100.; for the second Premium £50: for 10 tons, etc.

Additional Premiums offered are:—

Potash, 50 tons £100.; £50.; £40. N.B. 1 ton is 20 hundred weight.

Pearl ash, 30 tons, £100. N.B. What is Pearl ash?

Silk. In Georgia, 1 lb. Cocoons, 2d. In North Carolina and Pennsylvania, 1 lb. raw silk, 2 sh. 6d.

Plums. 500 lbs., £50.

Wine. 5 tons of red or white wine, from grapes on a man's own plantation, £100. In effect for seven years.

Sturgeon. 100 five-gallon kegs, £50. They are found in the Roanoke River.

Aloes. 100 plants, £50.

Cinnamon. 200 trees, £100. There are many in Guadalupa.

Safflower. (I think that flower is meant which is planted so thickly about Breslau.) For 500 lbs. £15.

Mango. An East Indian fruit, like a melon or large cucumber. A gold piece for 100 of them.

Scammony. (A plant that purges and drives out the gall.) The hardened sap from the roots of this plant, 20 guineas for the first 20 lbs., 15 ditto for 15, 10 guineas for 10 lbs.

Sweet Grass. 1 ton, £100.; ½ ton, £50.; etc. Grows toward the south, by the sea.

Barilla. (I do not know what it is, it may be a grass the Spanish call Kali.) 25 acres, £25. It seems that this grass makes particularly good meadows.

Note concerning Potash burning.

Pine, fir, spruce, cedar, cypress, in short all the evergreens, give no potash, but Turpentine runs.

Potash is a vegetable salt, and may be secured from certain foliage trees which grow in North America.

All foliage trees give Saltpetre, but the large forest trees, which shed their leaves in winter, like the oak, beech and ash, when they are beginning to die of old age and will soon be burnt, give the largest quantities.

1766. Concerning Vineyards.

A writer in a Virginia newspaper of Feb. 18, 1762, reports on proper cultivation, and says among other things: "The method of the Spanish is better for us than the French, for the Spanish are in the same latitude that we are, while the French are sixteen degrees further north."

[During the early years of the Wachovia Settlement all important questions concerning it were settled by the central Boards of the Unity from Herrnhut, Germany, Zeist, Holland, or London, England, according to where they were sitting at the time. In the Salem Archives there is a blank-book into which Frederic William Marshall copied such portion of the Minutes of certain conferences as he thought of sufficient importance. The following extracts are translated, as bearing upon the ownership of the land, and other financial questions.]

Herrnhut, Aug. 16, 1765. Conference of a Committee from the Directorium and Unity Vorsteher Collegium, met to consider the affairs of Wachovia.

We have received the notes of our Brethren in Zeist concerning Br. Marshall's report and Br. Joseph's suggestions, and would have preferred to wait for Br. Joseph's return before holding this Conference concerning Wachovia, but as Br. David Nitchmann is soon to leave, and it might be well to send certain word by him, the Directorium took up the matter yesterday, and the Saviour instructed them, through the lot, that the Wachovia Conference should be held today.

It is considered best that Wachovia shall be held by one person, and this person shall give a bond to the Unity concerning his ownership.

Provision must be made at once for a succession in the ownership, and a suitable person must be selected, who shall be named as heir in Br. Hutton's will.

We have been instructed that the accounts of Wachovia shall be kept in the same form as that used in Europe.

The Saviour approved the proposal that the Lot Owners [of the *Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement*] shall receive fee simple title to their land, but that the Proprietor of Wachovia shall have an option on them for a certain time.

Each Lot Owner shall pay £3: Quit Rent on his 2000 acres. It does not follow that the same shall apply to each purchaser, for in other cases it shall depend on the Contract made at the time.

It was decided that all land for three miles around Salem shall be held for the Unity; also the lots numbered 11, 21, and 22, on the map sent by Br. Marshall.

If Unity land is sold it shall be with right of option in case the purchaser desires to sell again.

The Saviour approved that land may be either sold or leased to persons settling in Wachovia.

In respect to the common house-keeping in Bethabara it seems best that it continue until the central town is built and the businesses and professions and trades are moved thither.

We are hardly in position to make a plan for the beginning and further progress of building in the new town, but it is approved that each resident build for himself, according to his circumstances. To build Salem at the expense of the Unity is impossible; but we will have to build several houses at first, so that Brethren and Sisters may be under roof while building their own homes.

The Choir Houses in Salem shall not be built first, but several family houses, of which the Single Brethren can occupy one or more until their Choir House is built.

A house for the Oeconomus must be built at once, for he will soon move to Salem.

It is our opinion that Bethabara should be a farming community, not a commercial center, as otherwise there is danger that building and growth there might stand in the way of the new town. But as some additional building is needed in Bethabara, and with the understanding that such new building is not to interfere with the building of the new town, the lot was tried with the two proposed places and a blank, and the lot drawn directed that the place selected during Br. Joseph's visit there was still preferred.

Furthermore it was determined by lot that we are to let our Brethren and Sisters in America know that the Saviour wills that Salem is to be the place in Wachovia for commerce and the professions, and they are to be moved thither from Bethabara.

Br. Marshall is to be considered as holding two offices in Wachovia;—
a) as Oeconomus and member of the Aeltesten Conferenz since he is responsible for the calling and installing of the Master-workmen, and arranging their establishments; b) as representative of the Unity Vorsteher Collegium, to look after the interests of the Unity as a whole, and to look after and sell land.

Letter of Instructions from the Directing Board of the Unity to a company of Brethren leaving for Wachovia. They reached Bethabara, Jan. 30, 1766.

[English.]

To our heartily beloved Br. and Sr. Schnepf, & the Brn. Peterson, Brezel, Priem, Schille, Birkhead, Hurst, Jn. Schmidt, & Stockburger, & the rest of our dear Brn. who go with them to Wachau, we wish Grace, Salvation, & Blessing out of the Fulness of the Lord Jesus.

Dear Hearts!

We have not had the Opportunity to see your whole Company together before your Voyage to Wachau, & to speak thoroughly with you about the Work whereto you, according to His Counsel of Love over each that belongs to His People, are called. Yet as we believe that it will not be welcome only, but profitable & needful to you, to know our Mind concerning you, & to go with our Heart & Blessing; therefore we have found it good to send you these Lines, and therein to show you in Love how it is in our Heart concerning you. We also desire you, not only to read this Letter together at the receiving of it, but also at Times to read it again, & think much about the Contents of it, & childlikely speak with our dear Saviour touching the same.

The Apostolic Method, where they only told their People what they were to do for the Lord's sake, & then recommending them to the Lord & to the Word of His Grace, let them go their way, would indeed in some Respects be the easiest for us. In our first Congregation-Times many Brn. and Sisters have also been sent out in this Manner: our dear Saviour has been with them, they have depended upon His Word, & kept the Matter which was intrusted to them childlikely before their Eyes; when they have observed therein what was wanting to them in order to attain the Aim they have looked to our dear Saviour, and their Affair has gone prosperously. We need therefore, if we would expedite you in this Manner, say no more to you than this: "It was so in your Heart, to mention & propose yourselves to the Directory either for our Saviour's & His Congregation's Service in general, or particularly for Wachau; we have considered it together before our dear Saviour, & He has been pleased with your Willingness, & we know thro' His Grace that you go this Voyage to Wachau upon His Word. Go therefore now thither to the Brn. & Srs. who are there before you, & serve & help them with the Gift which ye have received from God: He, the

Lord, be with you & bless you; His Word be your Light & Star, His Grace never depart from you, etc." And if you get no further Instruction than this, & you only suffered yourselves to be led by His Eyes, & to be ruled & guided by the Holy Ghost, you would certainly not fail of the Mark.

However, since this is the first Voyage in your Lives which you go by Sea, & since you are going to a Land whose Circumstances are peculiar & to you as yet unknown, & since Experience also teaches that when a Number of Brn. & Srs. travel together it is needful that Order be settled among them; therefore we will still mention one & another Point to you, out of Love toward you.

1) When you leave London & go on board the Ship, let by no Means anything be left remaining which is not done away; take with you on the Sea a free, lightsome & cheerful Heart, a Heart anew besprinkled & washed with Jesus' Blood, a Heart that is at Peace with every body, & is not conscious that any one has anything against you, a Heart bashful & poor, but warm in Jesus' Blood, & inflamed with Love towards Him; which has no Will but this one: to please Him, the Lord, the Bridegroom of Hearts. From whence you may get this we need not tell you. You know Who it is, Who doth so gladly give, nor even a Worm would grieve. If you now go with such a Heart on the Sea, & preserve it so thro' His Grace; then you will certainly have a happy Passage, & no Wind, no Storm, no Sea, no Danger, no Inconveniency, nor anything else, will be able to rob you of your Peace.

2) You come together out of different Congregations, & even have not the same Language, for you Germans do not understand English, & you English do not understand German. Hence Misunderstandings might easily happen among you. We will therefore beg you, arm yourselves with brotherly Love, that so no Suspicion, no Discontent, nor any such thing which does not flow from Grace, but from Selfishness, may spring up among you. Prevent & get the Start of one another with Love, Heartiness & Officiousness, & count it always a Grace when you have Opportunity, & are also able, in anything to serve your whole Company or any individual Brother. As our Lord hath said, It is more blessed to give than to receive; so it is also agreeable to His Mind rather to serve & minister than be ministered unto. If you behave thus to one another on board the Ship every one will perceive by it that you belong to our Saviour, & His Name will be praised on your account.

3) But yet that you may, if notwithstanding any Misapprehension should arise between you, be able to speak thoroughly with one

another, & not perhaps be forced to make Use of a Stranger to interpret, we would advise, that our German Brn. should learn English, & our English Brn. German. The daily Intercourse which you have with one another will render this easy; especially if you take both the German & English Bible often in your Hands, & exercise yourselves unweariedly in reading. This will also afford you a profitable Occupation & Entertainment on board the Ship, & while other Passengers will be weary of their Life, because the Time on the Sea will seem long to them, you will not know how your Days pass away so quickly, & will remain always contented in this respect also.

4) At London you are in a Congregation, & there you have particularly our dear Brn. Johann Nitschmann, Gambold, Hutton, West, Wollin, Metcalf & others, who all understand & can speak German, & all of them will study the best for you, & Br. Wollin in particular will take the Trouble to find out for you a good Ship, to make an Agreement with the Captain, to procure you a few fresh Provisions, & the like. We have desired him to do this, & he is not unacquainted with such Matters. Now as long as you are in London, (whether you be in the City or at Chelsea,) you are referred, & are to hold to, Br. John Nitschmann as the Oeconomus, & his Conference. You are, even otherwise, unacquainted with the London Circumstances, & it is a very great Benefit for you that you have Brn. there to whom you can commit yourselves.

5) If your Stay in London should be long, because Ship-Matters are sometimes dilatory, it would indeed be heavy to you, not only on account of the Expenses, but also for want of something to employ your Time; for the being unemploy'd is much harder to any People than the hardest Labour. Here we can indeed advise you to nothing, because we do not know the Circumstances there. But perhaps the Brn. in Lindsay House will know how to find you useful Employment in one way or other; & if you can only prevent any Damage, or procure any Help to the Unity, it is always to be accepted with Thanks. We presuppose, however, that it does not obstruct or prove a Hindrance to your proper Affair which you have in Hand.

6) Our dear Br. Schnepf is appointed by our dear Saviour to be a Helper in inward & outward Matters, as & where soever it shall be needful, in Wachau; & he will be the same on the Voyage also. For the rest, that the Single Brn. may not be without Order, Br. Petersen is to be their Leader on the Voyage till Bethabara, & the 2 Brn. Brezel & Priem are his Helpers. So that these 4 Brn. Schnepf, Petersen, Brezel & Priem compose a little Conference, & from time to time con-

sider all Things which concern the travelling Company. They afterwards communicate with the rest of the Company, that every thing may be done in Peace & with Complacence.

7) If it be possible that you on the Ship can get a separate Apartment (tho' it be only partitioned off by the Ship Carpenter) then keep your Morning & Evening Blessing, your Litany, & the Like. For without the Word of God & Prayer, at which the Hearts flow together, you may easily suffer Damage, or at least will miss many a Grace: but this will be a constant Admonition to you, daily to clear up every thing among you. For if even one should get some thing against another yet he will think: I must presently adjust & make an End of it, otherwise I could not come to the Litany.

8) Towards the Captain & Ship's Crew be discreet, & as far as possible loving & helpful, & rather suffer something than begin a Dispute with any one, were it even but the Cabbin Boy. But hereby we do not mean that you should make yourselves familiar & too intimate with them in their Way (their Way is often but indifferent), much less that you should look pleasant at Things which are bad; this is not consistent with the Love to our Saviour. Rather turn your Eyes & Ears away as much as possible, & behave yourselves in this respect as Children of God ought to do. Love them with Compassion, & serve them where you can.

9) Tho' we expect that each of you, where he can be of Service on board the Ship, will readily lend his Hand, yet it will not be amiss if a couple of Brn., on whom God has bestowed a particular Servant's Gift, be chosen among you for Servants. They are then to see to it that all be kept cleanly in your Apartment; for Uncleanliness not only causes an ill Smell, & is in that respect disagreeable, but is also prejudicial to Health on the Seas. They likewise fetch the Victuals, wash the Vessels & keep them in good Order, & look after the Provisions which you take with you for your Use, that nothing thereof be spoiled, & the like. Whoever of you remains well takes Care of the Sick, & serves them faithfully, that also in this the Doctrine of Jesus may be advanced by you.

10) If our dear Father brings you safe to Charlestown (& that He will do) then go to Mr. Bamfield, a Merchant there, who knows the Brethren & loves to serve them, as we hear. From him you will learn what Course you are to take in order to come to Bethabara. Perhaps there are Carriages there out of that Neighbourhood, with which you might go, which would be good upon that account also because it is

otherwise difficult to get over some Waters, if one is not on Horse-back. But if there be no Carriages ready, it will be too expensive for you to stay for them in Charlestown, for in Charlestown it is very dear living, & besides the Time would be lost which you should usefully & necessarily spend in Bethabara. Perhaps it will be best that you pursue your Journey on Foot, & enquire from one Day to another where you may find Lodging for the next Night. In this Case you would leave your Baggage at Charlestown in safe keeping with our good Friends there. Care is also to be taken, that when in London your Things are brought on board the Ship they be not put into the Hold & many other Things laid upon them, otherwise at your Arrival in Charlestown you cannot presently get them, but will be obliged to wait till the Goods piled upon them are first unloaded.

11) Now when thro' the Grace of our Lord & Saviour you come safe & well to Bethabara to our dear Brn. & Srs. you are first of all to deliver the Letter, which is sent you with this, to the Conference, together with a hearty Salutation from the Directory of the Unity. But then you are afterwards again in a Congregation, & among our and your dear People, to whom we wish thousand Blessings out of the Fulness of Jesus. What each of you from Time to Time is to do we can not here determine, but the Conference in Bethabara will speak with you about it. Perhaps it is needful that some of you help in Bethabara, because several of our dear Brn. & Srs. have been called Home by our dear Saviour, & we can not however leave Bethabara uncared for. For with regard to the other intended Congregation Places in Wachau, if Bethabara is not in a Condition to lend them a Hand it will go twice or thrice as hard with them. Perhaps some of you will immediately be made Use of to help in beginning the new Town in Wachau; or if they for their own Person can not help therein they may supply the Places of those Brn. who are to make the Beginning with building Houses, & the like. In short be like good Children, & faithfully & with all your Heart take in Hand that which is committed to you in the Name of the Conference, & do not think much beforehand, but be contented & chearful from one Day to another, & happy in your Work.

12) The House-keeping at Bethabara is as yet in common, which could not well be otherwise in the Beginning of a Colony, & afterwards it has continued longer than was our Intention. The Indian War, which has lasted some Years, & the Calling-home of the late Disciple, after which many Things must even remain as they were till the great Synod of the Unity, were also partly the Reason why it has hitherto

been left so in Bethabara. Now it is our Intention, by Occasion of the intended building of Salem, to make an Alteration, but this must be done no otherwise than with good Consideration, & in such a Manner as is suitable to our Congregation-Course. We gladly let ourselves be guided in all Things by the Eyes of our Lord, & be led by His good Hand.

13) Here we desire of you all that you would not enter into Discussion with any one who is perhaps discontented because the Matters have gone otherwise than he or we thought of. You can not explain to any Man, or make it clear to his Understanding, why our dear Lord has hitherto let it be so & no otherwise with Bethabara. We shall afterwards & in the End see that He makes something good out of it, though we for the present don't know how to unravel it. In the mean while, till our Saviour Himself alters every thing, be you simple before Him, & do whatever is given you to do with all Faithfulness & in a childlike Mind; thus it will be a Blessing to you, & you will lose nothing by it. Think often what our dear Saviour has done on His dear People in Europe, & on your own Hearts, since the last Synod; and seeing He has directed us back to the first Simplicity, where one does not seek his own but what pertains to Jesus Christ, & seeing He will have the corrupt Genius removed from among His People; be you herein a good Example to the Brn. in Wachau. Keep close to our dear Saviour, and let the Converse with Him be your quite peculiar Matter. Abide in the School of the Holy Ghost, & attend punctually to His Voice, whether it be that he warns you against something, or stirs you up to something, or clears up to you the Man of Smarts in His Bleeding Form, or whatever other good Thing He works in your Hearts; so will you always continue in a happy Course, & nothing will disturb in you that Peace of God, which is however better than all Treasures. How it then shall go further with you, commit this to the dear Father in Heaven, Who takes Care of even the Hairs of your Head, that not one of them fall to the Ground in vain; and therewith be easy & confident.

He forgetteth none who belongeth to His dear Son, & is a Member of His Body.

Be herewith recommended to the Soul of Jesus Christ, & to His Corpse full of Wounds, in Love & Faithfulness, & be once more heartily greeted from the whole Directory.

Herrnhuth, Aug. 30, 1765,

Johannes,

Joseph,

DeWatteville,

Georgius,

Fr. W. Neisser

Gregor

Zeyst, Sept. 11, Petrus.

GERNER,

Secretary of the Directory.

[In 1767 Frederic William Marshall went from Bethlehem, Pa., to Europe, to confer with the central Boards of the Unity before taking up his residence in Wachovia as Oeconomus. Conferences were held in Zeist, Holland, where many things were considered, and notes concerning them were written by Marshall in the blank-book already mentioned. In the following paragraphs a summary is given of some of the more important points, direct translations being indicated by quotation marks. It was later decided not to apply for a charter, but the discussion is given for the light it throws on local conditions.]

Negotiations being under way for the purchase of the Wachovia Quit Rents from Mr. Childs, to whom Earl Granville had sold them, it was agreed that when this was concluded the Trusteeship, under which James Hutton held Wachovia, should be terminated, and he should be given fee simple title, and in return should give Bond to hold the lands for the use of the Unity and not as a personal estate.

"Since Br. Marshall has been called as Oeconomus of Wachovia, as soon as he settles there Wachovia shall be served direct from Europe, and not through Bethlehem, as hitherto. With a resident Oeconomus, and properly constituted Congregation Boards, Wachovia will no longer depend on the financial organization of Bethlehem, but will deal directly with the Vorsteher Collegium of the Unity. A close connection and correspondence, however, is to be maintained between Wachovia and Bethlehem, and Bethlehem will regard Wachovia as her younger sister, giving her all possible support and assistance, and will upon request release Brethren and Sisters to Wachovia, even as Europe has aided her."

Consideration was given to the question whether lots in Salem should be transferred by Deed or by Lease to those who should build on them, and it was suggested that Life-time Leases might be best.

"Several days later Br. Marshall said he did not think it wise to give Life-time Leases, for a Lease-holder might make ill use of his position, injuring the town and the congregation. It would not help the situation to require him to give a *Bond for Performance of Covenant*, for if a man became undesirable it would be difficult to get rid of him unless he had broken the law of the land. On the other hand a one-year-Lease, while not open to this objection and therefore better suited to our Constitution, is disadvantageous, because a man holding a Lease for a short term of years is not permitted to vote in

Elections. If an effort is made to secure a Charter for Salem the Assembly must also be asked to pass an Act under which a citizen of Salem worth £50: will be rated as a Free-holder and allowed to vote." Br. Marshall agreed to draw up a form of incorporation, which would insure the necessary rights and privileges, but enter as little as possible into details; the Directors approved of this, hoping thereby to avoid the inconveniences to be feared under a Charter of the usual form. "In this connection it was suggested: (a) that Br. Marshall's idea be followed, and the city limits be made very small, so that no more persons than we might wish should be included; (b) that the election of three *Select Men*¹⁶ shall be so arranged that nine Brethren shall be nominated by a plurality vote, (each citizen entitled to vote casting his ballot for three men,) three *Select Men* to be chosen by lot from the nine, so that the Lord has a vote in the election of these officials." "If a Charter is sought for Salem care must be taken that it incorporates these provisions, as worked out by Br. Marshall, or else it must guarantee freedom to Salem to make rules from time to time, which shall be deemed legal."

Br. Marshall requested that the lots of the *Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement* should be definitely assigned as soon as he should reach Herrnhut, and this was approved by the Directorium.

Br. Marshall reported that the proposed division of the County in which Wachovia lies would entail the building of a Court-House for the new County, and it was remarked that it would probably be for our advantage to have this on our land. Marshall pointed out that it was not necessary to have a town around a Court-House, that a jail, one or two houses for rent, a residence for the County Clerk, and the Court-House itself, were all that were really essential; that if a County Town grew up on the borders of Wachovia there was sure to be rivalry between it and Salem, as there had been to some extent between Salisbury and Bethabara. He suggested that if the Court-House were built on Wachovia territory the sale of land around it could be restricted, and men content to rent land would probably not be enterprising enough to interfere with Salem trade. The roads which would be built to the Court-House would be an advantage to the Brethren. "The question whether we should try to secure the Court-House, or should leave the matter to Providence, was decided by lot: 'We shall take active measures to secure the building of the Court-House on our land'."

¹⁶ The words *Select Men* are in English in the Minutes.

"It will be well for Salem to have a Seal, and Br. Marshall's design for one is approved."¹⁷

The Statutes for Salem, drawn up by Br. Marshall, were fully approved. It was remarked that "the things of the Lord must not be given into the hands of men," and therefore Congregation Statutes must not be considered as laws laid down by the authorities, but as a free-will agreement and covenant, to be signed above all by the Ministers, then by the Communicant Brethren, and by the Sisters also, if desired."

It was agreed that immediately after Easter Br. Marshall should go to Herrnhut, to confer with the Unity Vorsteher Collegium; that he and his wife should return to Holland the end of July; and that they should then go direct to Wachovia, making a visit to Pennsylvania later.

[Then follow several pages of decisions relating to Pennsylvania.]

In the Herrnhut conferences, the Unity Vorsteher Collegium agreed to the immediate award of lots to the members of the *Etablissement*;—of the 32 two-thousand-acre tracts indicated on the map 21 were needed for members of the *Etablissement*, were assigned by lot, and the members were at once notified. There remained for the Unity about 40,000 acres, not counting the tracts laid off for Bethabara, Bethania and Salem. It was agreed to reserve what might be needed and sell the rest; purchasers were to be allowed to select their land from that belonging to the Unity or to members of the *Etablissement*, and no restriction was placed on the number of acres that might be sold to any individual.

Cossart's heirs had released his land to the Unity, but it was a question whether to perfect his purchases, on which all Quit Rents were still due, or to take the tracts up anew. Matter left to Br. Marshall, to be decided by him after reaching Wachovia.

"According to the agreement with My Lord Granville and Mr. Childs the Quit Rents are now to be paid to the Unity; they shall be fixed at £3: per 2000 acres, according to the custom of the land. We will have to see what can be done about the interest on overdue Quit Rents, and if land is sold it can be included in the price."

The relation of the Wachovia finances to the Unity Vorsteher Collegium had been outlined by a Committee appointed for the purpose, and was accepted by the Collegium, July 10, 1767.

¹⁷ In the Salem Archives there is a seal which is probably the one made under this order. In the center is an ornamented shield bearing the word SALEM, and around it is the inscription "Sigillum Communitatis Fratrum." Whether it was ever used is doubtful, for incorporation was postponed until the session of the Legislature of 1856-7, ninety years after the discussion here recorded.

"Important reports and statements of accounts must be made out in duplicate, and sent in different ships, one direct by Charlestown and one by way of Pennsylvania."

Zeist, Aug. 26, 1767. Further consideration of the incorporation of Salem confirmed fears that it would hamper the activities of the Congregation and the Unity leaders. "The reason for desiring a Charter is that we shall not be left to the discretion of the Assembly, for if we take no part in the election of Assembly-men, Sheriffs, etc, we and our descendents may suffer from the injustice of our neighbors, who can make laws that we must obey. It is more risky to be the subject of a republican state than of a despotic government, as has been made evident in New England."

"The usual Charter of Incorporation will not suit for us, and must be modified to suit our circumstances, which would establish a good precedent for other Congregations in America. It has not helped us in Pennsylvania to have a vote in the Assembly, but has rather hurt us; however, time may change that. And even if we only use our right when we need it, and do not mix in party matters, we will not be open to the charge of exclusiveness, and its dangers. The Authorities are surprised that we do not seek a Charter, and mistrust us because we do not ask for one." The inconvenience of having a Magistrate and other civil officers in Salem was further discussed; and it was finally decided, by lot, that "It is not yet time to seek a Charter for Salem."

Aug. 31. It was agreed that Salem should be separated from Bethabara as soon as possible; also that the Oeconomie in Bethabara should be given up, and the sooner the better. However, no promise could be given as to just when this could be done, and the exact state of the case must be explained to Brethren and Sisters going from here, that when they reached Wachovia they would have nothing of which to complain.

Getting copies of the Gemein Nachrichten from Bethlehem made them later and more expensive for Wachovia; it was resolved that with the beginning of next year copies for Wachovia should be written in Barby.

As services were held for the Brethren in three towns in Wachovia, Br. Graff needed an assistant, and it was decided that Br. Schropp should aid him, in addition to his work as Vorsteher. Br. Shropp was also to be Br. Marshall's first assistant in his work.

Sept. 12. "As Br. and Sr. Marshall will leave next Monday, the extracts which he has made from the Minutes of the conferences were read over, and a few points added."

"Br. Marshall will undertake to have Houses built for the Single Brethren, and for the Single Sisters, in Salem as soon as possible; he will keep an eye on the marriages which are needed from time to time; assist in the organization of the Choirs as rapidly as may be; bring the common house-keeping to an end as promptly as possible; and arrange all things in Salem according to the custom of our Congregations and Choirs in Europe."

"An attempt shall be made to conduct Bethania as a Christian village, which in time shall have its own minister and its own organization."

"Then we wished our dear Br. and Sr. Marshall much grace and blessing in all their important duties, in the conduct of their affairs, and in the building of a city for the Lord."

*Plans for Wachovia Made by the Committee Appointed by the Unity's
Vorsteher Collegium.*

[This paper is in the Bethlehem Archives, and is the one referred to as having been approved by the Collegium, July 10, 1767. Translated in full.]

According to the instructions of the U. V. C. the undersigned have agreed upon the following proposals concerning the Oeconomie of Wachovia, and the necessary division of it between the two parties in interest, that is the Unity, or U. V. C., and the special Wachovia Diaconie; and in so doing have carefully considered the opinion expressed in the Conferences of the U. V. C.; and the results of their deliberations are hereby presented for their consideration and approval.

1) It is unanimously agreed and determined that all the land bought from Lord Granville, and included in the 19 Deeds (exclusive of that part held by members of the *Etablissement*, or by those to whom they may dispose of it) is and shall be unquestionably the property of the Unity; and therefore all and every piece of it, larger or smaller, which shall be sold or rented, shall be sold or rented on account of and for the benefit of the Unity and the U. V. C.; and all purchase or rent money, *locaria* or ground rents, and Quit Rents, must be paid over to the Unity. Concerning the land already occupied it is further agreed that

- 2) The 2000 acres of land hitherto farmed and used by Bethabara shall be held by the special Diaconie of Wachovia for an indeterminate number of years, and until both parties agree to a change; and the Wachovia Diaconie shall pay for it yearly to the U. V. C. a *locaria* or Recognition of £10: Sterling, beginning June 1, 1766.
- 3) 2000 acres have been laid off for Bethania and taken by the residents there under lease, or for rent, and the charge for lease and rent has been assumed proportionately by the residents; therefore the Wachovia Diaconie shall collect the annual rents, etc. in the name of the U. V. C., the year to begin with June 1, 1766, and shall place them to the account of the U. V. C., and shall annually remit the balance to that Board.
- 4) In like manner the Unity gives to the Wachovia Diaconie the use of the land set apart for Salem, free of charge for the five years from June 1, 1767 to 1772, as an encouragement and help for the building of the town; after these five free years a small *locarium* shall be paid, the amount to be fixed according to circumstances.
- 5) In addition the Wachovia Diaconie shall cheerfully make every effort to pay the promised £60: Sterling annual contribution to the expenses of the Unity.
- 6) On the other hand it is agreed and determined that all which the Oeconomie at Bethabara has profited and won through gifts, diligence, industry and faithfulness, in the way of buildings, stocks, inventories, and improvements, according to the various accounts as kept, shall be the unquestioned property of the Wachovia Diaconie, this to include all receipts for rented land to June 1, 1766.
- 7) From these profits and receipts the Wachovia Diaconie has begun and shall continue the building of Salem, according to the map submitted by Br. Marshall and approved by the Collegium, and as it shall be further developed, according to the direction of our Lord, and as the needs of commerce there shall suggest, so that the whole town, so to speak, may move there at one time. For this beginning about ten different buildings will be required, namely,—

- 1) A house which will serve temporarily for the Saal and residence for the Ministers.
- 2) A two-story house for the Single Brethren, which can later be used for a family house.
- 3) A house for the Single Sisters and Girls.
- 4) A house for the store and warehouse.
- 5) A house for the tavern.

- 6) A house for the blacksmith and gunsmith.
- 7) One for the pottery.
- 8) A house for the apothecary, etc.
- 9) A mill and saw-mill.
- 10) A little farm, with a house, and a barn for about ten cows.

8) But as the development of a Gemein Ort at Salem calls for additional Brethren and Sisters, who cannot be brought there without considerable expense; and as the Wachovia Diaconie is not in position to bear this expense without assistance; it finds itself obliged to ask that U. V. C. will pay the transportation of those already selected to go with Br. and Sr. Marshall, and others who may later go with the approval of the Collegium, and further to ask for the travel expenses of the Sisters and Girls moving thither from Bethlehem, and for their proper establishment, which will require a separate house, for which the Diaconie will need a gift of approximately £250: Sterling, or £500: Carolina Currency, which amount the Diaconie could retain for this purpose from the sale of Unity land, if permission is given.

9) The Wachovia Diaconie will then undertake the building and settling of Salem as planned, under the blessing of the Heavenly Father, will use every effort to care for it, and from time to time will enlarge it as opportunity offers. And the Diaconie shall be allowed to use or to borrow, at an equitable interest, the money necessary for erecting such buildings as store, mill, etc., which can be profitably rented; it being definitely understood

10) That with the exception of the above named sums all money which may now or later be borrowed by the Wachovia Diaconie from the Unity or U. V. C. shall be considered only as a loan, for which the Diaconie shall give a proper note to U. V. C. and for which a just interest (5 per cent) shall be annually paid and remitted.

Herrnhut, July 8, 1767.

Approved in Collegium,
July 10, 1767.

see the Minutes of the
Unity's Vorsteher Collegium
of this date.

JOHANNES LORETZ

J. SEBALD RINGMACHER

FRIEDRICH MARSCHALL.

JOH. CHRISTIAN QUANDT.

1768

[In the Salem Archives are copies of a number of Reports sent by Frederic William Marshall from Wachovia to the governing Boards of the Unity. These Reports are largely summaries of the events recorded in the Diaries, but the paragraphs which give additional information are worth translating. The Reports for 1768 are particularly interesting, in that they give details of his journey to Wachovia, and his impressions of conditions there as he prepared to take up his duties as Oeconomus.]

Bethabara, April 14, 1768,
sent by way of Charlestown.

Honored and beloved Brethren,

According to agreement I am sending you my first report, in duplicate. We reached here on Feb. 14th, after a three weeks journey from Charlestown. We arrived there Jan. 24th, in fine, warm weather, which lasted until we left, but then it turned very cold, and as we camped out each night several had their hands frostbitten. My left hand swelled, rose, and finally had to be lanced, so that I arrived in Bethabara as a patient, though the hand is now entirely well. Three small wagons took us and our baggage to Pinetree, and there, after a stay of a day and a half, we secured others for the rest of the trip, which was greatly delayed by the much rain and high water, so that we were glad and thankful to reach our dear Brethren in Bethabara, who had been expecting us for a long time.

Here I found that Br. Schropp's home-going had left a gap that was not easy to fill, especially as Br. Gammern's home-going and Br. Ettwein's transfer had recently made two important changes in the Oeconomie. The Brn. Graff, Lorenz Bagge, Utley and Loesch had been obliged to form themselves into a Committee to do the work of the Vorsteher, though they lacked information about many things, and they have done their best; Br. Loesch had to look after many things in addition to his work as superintendent of the farm and other businesses.

As may well be imagined I find many changes since I was here three years ago. It would seem that Br. Schropp had a presentiment of his coming departure, and was less active than was usual for him, and very indulgent. Whenever leaders are changed new things are begun, which is not wise in a common house-keeping, and may have disastrous consequences. Under the circumstances, and without full informa-

tion as to the status of affairs, I think it unwise for me personally to take over the Vorsteher's office, but have associated myself with the Committee already acting, to which we have added Br. Traugott Bagge, as the future book-keeper. The advantage of this united service is that the plan and intention of all measures in relation to the Diaconie and the farm interests are known to many, and are supported by them; and the same will be useful in the Aeltesten Conferenz, even though it takes more time in discussion.

The matter of clothing and other necessities, here known as the Congregation Store, will be attended to by Sr. Gammern, as hitherto. I have undertaken the monthly conferences with the Master Workmen, when they report their receipts and their needs. Br. Utley will look after certain details which concern the daily order and convenience of the Brethren and Sisters. * * *

In Salem I find three family houses ready for use, all made of framework covered with clay,¹⁸ or framework filled with brick and clay. All are of one story, with two rooms, a kitchen and a cellar; in addition there is one two-story house, which is not arranged as I planned with Br. Schropp, but has a small Gemein Saal below, and above has two rooms and a kitchen. The proportions of the houses are good, and with their regular placing and their tile roofs they make a not unpleasing appearance. I imagine we shall have to cover the walls with weather-boards, which in this country is the most expensive method, and not a good one on account of the sharp lightning and other danger from fire, but without lime it seems to be the only thing we can do.

The definite fixing of lines, which should have been done at first but was not, we will now attend to as soon as possible, so that the placing of the next buildings may be definite. We measured the fall of nearer and more distant springs, from which we hope to obtain a sufficient and constant supply of water for the town, and as we find that it will not be possible to run it to the entire Square and main buildings as at present intended we are considering moving the Square several building lots lower, where the ground is more level, and the plans would

¹⁸ In the Salem Archives there is a note-book in which Marshall jotted down, in English, a surprising variety of things, from personal accounts and items of business to remedies for chilblains and colic. Most of the entries were made before he came to live in Carolina, but in the description of the construction of a house there occurs the following, which fits old walls in Salem, remnants of which are in the Museum of the Wachovia Historical Society. "Then laths $\frac{3}{4}$ of an Inch thick are nailed from post to post about five feet distant and the Laths five inches distant. These are wrapped around with a straw clay and thus the Plastering may be added with a thin Coat of Mortar, and all Vacancies are filled up. The Coat of Clay at that rate will be about 3 Inches thick." The "Straw Clay" was an actual mixture of straw and clay, both relatively plentiful, while lime for mortar was one of the things which the pioneer settlers found most difficult to procure.

not have to be otherwise changed. If the Square is so moved the lower edge of the town will still be 70 ft. above the Wach, which flows near by, and the upper part of Salem will be about twice as high, so that both the lower and the upper parts of the town will be higher than Bethlehem, and no one can question the healthfulness of the situation. Our next matter for consideration will be the building of the Choir Houses, the store and the tavern, and the arranging of the present buildings for the trades that will be carried on in them. * * *

Latter part of 1768.

Since Wachovia is not only one of the most distant of the Settlements of the Brethren, but on account of the scant opportunity for correspondence is probably less known than other far-off congregations, it may not be out of place at the end of this year to give some account of what the Saviour has done here, and some idea of our plans.

This Settlement was begun in the year 1753, with the generous support of the Lot Owners [Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement], and so continued for five years. Two things made development of the full plan difficult. One was that in the center of Wachovia, where the chief town should have been placed, the land was the poorest, and so the first Colony, which arrived Nov. 17, 1753, when winter had already begun, took advantage of an abandoned house which they found, which stood on the more fertile land which was imperatively needed for their support. There they cleared fields, and in time the place became Bethabara. The second difficulty was the Indian War, which broke out just at the time when the first Colony, which consisted of Single Brethren, had been joined by the first company of Married People. Instead of spreading out, the war forced them to use their strength for defense and guard, and for the assistance of the people around them, who could not be forbidden to come in large numbers for protection, so that nothing could be done about beginning the central town, and the settlement had to support itself in a region where there was no trade for many miles. But with the blessing of the Lord, and in spite of hindrances, the settlement grew, not rapidly, but a little year by year, and if it is small in comparison with other congregations of the Unity, yet in this land, and so far from the sea, there is none like it.

On Nov. 17th, as we celebrated, with a Lovefeast, the anniversary of the arrival of the first Brethren, we realized that during the fifteen years which have passed since the beginning of the Settlement we have established, at least in a small way, all the really necessary businesses and handicrafts, which are greatly missed in other localities here. In

addition to our farm of about two hundred acres of cleared land, we have a grist and saw mill, which can also be used for breaking tan-bark and pressing oil; a brewery and distillery, a store, apothecary shop, tan-yard, pottery, gunsmith, black-smith, gunstock-maker, tailor shop, shoe-maker, linen-weaver, saddlery, bakery, and the carpenters, joiners, and masons, who do our building, and there is also our tavern. Even if these businesses are not particularly profitable they are indispensable, and with them we can provide ourselves with most of the necessities of life.

One hour's drive from Bethabara the village of Bethania was established during the war, partly by refugees who were lovers of the Gospel, and partly by several married couples from Bethabara. Only farming is carried on there, and they have already cleared more land than around Bethabara. It consists of 18 family houses, arranged along a street, in regular order, with 94 inhabitants; the buildings are of about the same size as those at Bethabara, and they have an increasing number of Diaspora members in the neighborhood.

Finally, four years ago, the site for Salem, the chief Gemein-Ort, was selected in the center of Wachovia, and three years ago the first wood was cut for building. It is intended not so much for farming as for the various businesses; and especially for the Choir Houses and other establishments, and for the supervision of all Wachovia. So soon as proper arrangements can be made the store and the handicrafts will move thither from Bethabara. From the beginning Bethabara was not intended to be a center of commerce, so few buildings suitable for such a purpose were erected, and there is still a common house-keeping. The profit from this Oeconomie, which supports 132 persons, including men, women and children, is the only source of supply for the building of Salem, and on this fund will fall not only the expense of erecting the Choir Houses and the Gemein Haus but also the houses for families and crafts, indeed all the outlay which is usually derived from individuals or through collections. While we thank the Saviour that Bethabara did not go to the expense of building as a regular Gemein Ort, still it is far too weak for the building of a new town, the more that much of the work will have to be done by outside labor, which, according to the job, will cost from one florin to one reichsthaler per day for each man, including board and wages, and sometimes more. It is not surprising that under such circumstances the building of Salem has gone slowly, and the transfer thither has been deferred. * * *

[The "Congregation Store" mentioned under April 14th, 1768, was quite distinct from the general store, which served the public in the usual way. Marshall's outline of the scope of its activities follows, as bearing upon the Oeconomie which was discontinued when the greater part of Bethabara moved to Salem.]

April 10, 1769.

The Congregation Store is an old establishment in the general Oeconomie, and can not be entirely given up even when the Oeconomie ends. In each Choir a Brother or Sister is appointed, who ascertains what clothing is needed, and to whom requests for other necessaries are made. These appointed Brethren and Sisters meet at stated times for conference. When all needs have been considered, in view of the state of the Oeconomie finances, a list is given to the Merchant [in the general store] of all the various things which he shall bring from Charlestown for the Congregation Store. From these the tailor and the seamstress receive what they require for their work; and the requests include pins, shoe-buckles, combs, buttons, tea, coffee, sugar, indeed all kinds of necessaries. The main things, of course, are flax, cotton and wool, for breaking, swingling, hackling, spinning, weaving, bleaching, coloring, knitting, to make shirts and underwear, aprons, straw-sacks, bed-covers, etc., etc., chiefly woman's work, and during Br. Gammern's time his wife had it in charge, and afterwards for lack of a more suitable person she continued to attend to it. Since she went to Bethlehem my wife [Mrs. Marshall] has done part of it.

In a family of more than 130 people there are daily calls for things which a private person could hardly get without making confusion, and for the present Br. Utley attends to these. For instance one wants to make a chest or box and needs a plank and some nails, another wants a pane of glass for a window, a rope, some brick, etc., but he does not take it from the store or the stock of building material without mentioning it to Br. Utley.

[At a rather early date it became necessary to place the apprentice system of Wachovia on a definite footing, and the two papers which follow show the method by which the rights of Master, Apprentice and community were safe-guarded. Both originals are in English.]

Indenture of Apprenticeship.

This INDENTURE made the Sixth Day of February in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Sixty Nine, WITNESSETH, That Andrew Kremser, Son of the late Andrew Kremser of Friedensthal in the County of Northampton in the Province of Pennsylvania, Yoeman, HATH of his own voluntary Will placed and bound himself Apprentice to Jacob Friedric Pfeil of Bethabara in the County of Rowan in the Province of North Carolina Shoemaker, to be taught in the Trade Science or Occupation of a Shoemaker, and with him as an Apprentice to serve from the Day of the Date hereof till the Seventh Day of March which will be in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Seventy four; during all which Term the said Apprentice his said Master well & faithfully shall serve, his Secrets keep, and his lawfull Comands gladly do, and behave in all Respects as a faithfull Apprentice ought to do both to his Master and all his.

And the said Master his said Apprentice the said Trade which he now useth as a Shoemaker, with all Things thereunto belonging, shall & will teach and instruct, or cause to be well and sufficiently taught and instructed, after the best Manner he can; and shall and will also find & allow unto his said Apprentice Meat, Drink, Washing, Lodging and Apparel, both Linnen & Woolen, & all other Necessaries fit and convenient for such an Apprentice, during the Term aforesaid, & at the End of the said Term shall & will give to the said Apprentice One new Suit of Apparell.

In Witness whereof the Parties above named have to these Presents interchangeably set their Hands & Seals the Day & Year first above written.

Done before me one of His Majesty's	()
Justices of the Peace for the	Friedrich Jacob Pfeil, (Seal)
County of Rowan,	()
The Day & Year above mentioned.	

Jacob Loesch.

Bond for Performance.

KNOW ALL MEN by these Presents

That I Jacob Frederic Pfeil of Bethabara in Rowan County in the Province of North Carolina Shoemaker, am held & firmly bound unto Frederic Marshall of Bethabara aforesaid, in the Sum of One hundred Pounds of current Money of this Province, to be paid to the said

Frederic Marshall, his certain Attorney Executors Administrators or Assigns: To which Payment well and truly to be made I bind myself, my heirs Executors and Administrators and every of them firmly by these Presents. Sealed with my Seal and dated the Sixth Day of February in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Sixty Nine and in the Ninth Year of His Majesty's Reign.

THE CONDITION of this Bond is, that if the said Jacob Frederic Pfeil doth not remove his Apprentice Andrew Kremser this Day bound to him out of the Brethren's Settlements of Bethabara or Salem, nor bind him to any other Master, without the Consent of the said Frederic Marshall or his Heirs previously obtained. AND during the whole Time of his Apprenticeship lodgeth and boards him the said Andrew Kremser, in the Single Brethren's house, according to the Custom of the United Brethren. AND if the said Apprentice should turn out to be of such Life and Manners, that according to the Rules of the Brethren he could not be tolerated amongst them, and in that Case at the Request of the said Frederic Marshall or his Heirs the said Jacob Frederic Pfeil shall bind out his said Apprentice to an other Master not residing at the Settlement aforesaid. OR, if the said Jacob Frederic Pfeil himself should remove from the said Settlements, and shall then bind out his said Apprentice to an other Master residing at Salem, and in both the last Cases shall content himself with such Sum or Satisfaction as he shall be able to get of the said Apprentice's new Master THEN the above Obligation to be void or else to be and remain in full Force and Virtue.

Sealed & delivered in the

Presence of

Jacob Loesch

Nicolaus Lorenz Bagge.

Jacob Frederic Pfeil (Seal)

()
()

[In 1910 Mr. Samuel L. Miller published the history of Waldoboro, Maine, formerly "Broad Bay Plantation" in the Province of Massachusetts, from which the "Broadbay settlers" came to Wachovia in 1769 and the following years. Mr. Miller's book explains the name Broad Bay, which does not appear on a general atlas of Maine.—The Town of Waldoboro is on the Medomak River, some eight or ten miles above Muscongus Bay, the effects of the tide being felt as far up the river as the town. Three miles below the head of tide the river expands into the so-called Broad Bay, which is more than a mile wide; below the Broad Bay the river narrows again.

Between 1739 and 1753 a number of German families came over to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, as it was then called, drawn by the attractive advertisements of the proprietors of the *Waldo Patent*; and they settled in the vicinity of Broad Bay. It is not necessary here to recount their trials, and troubles with the Indians. In 1760 the Broad Bay settlers were visited by the Moravian minister, George Soelle; in 1762 he became resident pastor of a little congregation there. About 1764 it was discovered that many of the settlers were on land which did not belong to Waldo, and therefore the Leases he had given them were worthless, and there were flaws in the titles of others, so many decided to move away. Vol. I of this series of *Records of the Moravians* gave details of the arrival of some of these people in Wachovia, but the following is added because of the information it supplies about conditions in the Broad Bay neighborhood.]

Letter from George Soelle to Frederic William Marshall.

[Translated in full.]

Broadbay, 24th Aug. 1769.

Dearly beloved Brother,—

From one of your letters to Br. Ettwein I see that you already know that some of the families from this place are minded to come to you, but their departure has been so long postponed that you may have thought they had changed their plans. The reason for the delay, however, lay not in their desire but in their affairs here, which were much involved. Now they have been able to extricate themselves, and are ready to set out on their journey to you, in the name of the Lord.

Six families will come to you, if the Lord prospers their journey; there are twenty-seven souls, and time will show whether they will all approve themselves worthy of the sufferings of Jesus, which is the prayer of my heart for them, and a joy which we desire for them and for Him, indeed we wish that not one among them may fail to become His property, even though now he may be spiritually dead.

I am but a poor, short-sighted man, and the Lord alone knows the depths of hearts, yet I may say that the heads of the families give evidence that in this change they not only seek better land and material circumstances, but that they honestly wish to be farther from the tumult and temptations of the world, that in quiet they may learn more of Him, Who loves their souls and the souls of their children, and that they may be His in time and in eternity.

It is not necessary for me to go into details concerning those who are coming, for you will soon learn to know them. Receive them, and let them live near you; assist, uplift, and care for them as your means will permit. And as the Saviour shed His blood for you may it also renew their hearts, in the Unity, to a true life, that they may become a pleasant fruit of the death of Jesus.

Br. Ettwein offered to help them settle on the Kennebec River, hoping that the Brethren would take up land there and establish a congregation, (which it is hoped the Saviour will bring to pass, for there is much interest stirring in all that section), but they could not decide to do that, and held to their resolve to go to you.

There are some other families here who plan to follow these, perhaps next year. Under the circumstances I am very doubtful whether they are moved by a strong desire for the Gospel; but I do not yet know what they will do.

This month it is seven years that I have been alone among the uncultured crowd, and yet I have never been left by my Friend-beyond-compare. I have sowed, I have watered the seed with tears, I have as yet seen little fruit, though not all has been without avail. I will go forward, by His grace, so long as it is His will to have me here, for while I should gladly be relieved I cannot desert this place, otherwise I would go with them to you.

Think of me, dear Brother, and greet for me the congregations in Bethabara and Bethania, though there are few whose faces I know. Greet the dear Brethren Graff and Utley for me; perhaps the Saviour will permit me to see the congregation of Bethabara, though 1200 miles in a direct line is a long way. Be yourself heartily greeted in Jesus' name by

Your faithful Brother

G. SOELLE.

P. S. Dear David Rominger does not bring his wife with him, partly because she is sickly, partly because she prefers to remain with her children. But he is leaving with her approval and consent, and has divided his property with her according to law, and has put everything in order. He asked me to tell you this. His son is a dead soul.

G. SOELLE.

Marshall's Reports to U. E. C.

[A few extracts translated.]

April 9, 1770.

On the 8th of November two wagons arrived, bringing Germans from Broadbay, who had been awakened by Br. Soelle, and since Br. Ettwein's visit have been persistently of the intention to move to Wachovia. These were followed on the evening of Nov. 12th by another company of 18 persons. We had not at all expected them, and it was so late in the year that we were the less prepared suddenly to provide housing and food for so many. Br. Ettwein had informed us that they had been advised to move to the Kennebec River, but we learn from them that a visit thither had showed them that Dr. Gardener's title to the land was doubtful, and they therefore were unwilling to risk a move to that place, and followed their inclinations to come to the Brethren in Wachovia. Off the coast of Virginia they ran too near the shore during the night, and though they twice escaped the cliffs and the rushing waves the Captain saw it was impossible to save the ship. He therefore made straight for shore, between the sandbanks, and just as the ship touched ground he steered so skillfully that they struck with the deck toward shore, so that when they sprang into the sea they easily reached the land. Every one was saved, and a good deal of the baggage. Toward morning the schooner sprung a leak, and the waves swept over the chests, so that two families, particularly, lost nearly everything. They hired another vessel, in which they had little comfort, but they reached Wilmington in eleven days. The much dampness, the fright, and the unhealthy air of Wilmington, caused ten of them to take fever, and not without great difficulty did they traverse the more than two hundred miles across the country.

* * * * *

[On page 411 of Vol. I, this series, there is reference to the founding of a boarding school for boys in Bethabara. The following shows that it was really a small Orphan Asylum, as well as school.]

Little Gottlob Krause, who has been in the care of Br. and Sr. Bachhoff in Bethania, returned to Bethabara. To date we have had a day school for our boys, but no institution in which they could live; this can be no longer postponed, and the transfer to Salem has released

space which can be used. The institution now cares for three orphans, Gottlob Krause and the two sons of the widow Dixon. They are in the charge of the Single Brother, Würtele, who also conducts the day school, and the young Single Brother Nilson is his assistant, going there after work hours, to sleep, and also alternating with Br. Würtele in taking them to the services. In the morning the Brn. Graff, Lorenz and Reuter have classes for them and the other boys; in the afternoon Br. Würtele takes them out to cut wood, or for other work. The eldest of them is ten years old.

* * * * *

[It will be remembered that the Wachovia Tract was surveyed in nineteen parcels, a Deed being taken for each. In the division of lots to the members of *Der Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement* each member received 2000 acres. Facing page 364 of Vol. I there is a map showing the relative position of Deed and Lot lines.]

Contracts for land are often slow in the making, for we deal with farmers, who are of a somewhat slow, irresolute spirit, with their outward affairs often in confusion. So when I write there may be a transaction so far under way that I ought to mention it, and yet a year may pass before the conditions are finally agreed on. But I will note the following concerning our receipts from the sale of land.

Philip Rothrock has taken half of Lot 17, in the 18th Deed; is to pay £232: Pennsylvania currency, or £247 :9 :4, N. C. currency; has paid £121:4:8, N. C. currency.

Marcus Hoenes has taken the other half of the above Lot; because of a difference in the quality of the land he is to pay £192: Penns. or £204:16:—, N. C.; has paid £110:11:4, N. C.

J. Schulz has bought 400 acres in the south-west corner of Lot 28, in the 9th Deed; is to pay £80: Penns. or £85:6:8, N. C.; has paid £34:4:6, N. C.

Heinrich Schmid has bought 500 acres, in the 8th Deed, bordering on the east line of the Bethania Lot; is to pay £150: Penns. or £160: N. C.; has paid £106:13:4, N. C.

To a poor Brother from Maryland, William Adam Wolff, I have rented 200 acres of the 4th Lot, in the north-west corner of the 15th Deed. He is to pay 40 shillings per year, with the agreement that he may buy it at any time within five years for £40: N. C. currency.

Two miles from Salem, J. George Baumgarten has taken 100 acres, for 20 shillings, Sterling, annual rental, the first three years free. George Adam Schumacher, from Broadbay, has also taken 110 acres,

at 21 sh. Sterl. and one year free. Both these are on 21 year Leases. In case of cancellation of the Lease there is to be no claim on us for buildings, fences, or fruit trees.

Aug. 3, 1770.

Since Br. Klein's arrival we have often considered how the farm at Bethabara can best be used, for it is a recognized fact in America that there is no profit in a farm run with hired help. * * * Therefore the laying out of a great estate is not advantageous in America; and the man who has a larger farm than he can work with the aid of wife and children cannot expect to profit by it. * * * Under such circumstances other people buy slaves, but to purchase ten or twelve would require an outlay of more than £1000: (the one we have cost £120: and was considered cheap), and not many of our Brethren or Sisters have the gift of handling slaves, without spoiling them.

The present store is a poorly-built, one-story log house, with one living room; the log sales-room adjoining it is of medium size. Above both there is no regular ceiling, but loose boards are laid across the rafters, so that boxes can be stored there. Near by is a shed, with a board roof supported on posts, the sides made of slabs; here hides, tobacco, iron, salt, etc. are stored. The house lies low in the meadow, below the hill, which makes it unhealthy, and no proper lot can be laid out about it; in short it is a hut out of which not much can be made.

The tavern in Bethabara is at present in fair condition, though poorly built. When trade moves to Salem it will not have much patronage, and must either be given up, or bring in little or nothing.

* * * * *

On account of the scarcity of money many of our payments are made with store tickets. Our currency, also, is worth nothing in Charlestown, and when we remit to Europe we must pay the store here, and when the merchant takes goods to Charlestown he must arrange there for the exchange.

Bethabara, Oct. 15, 1770.

First copy sent by way of Charlestown.

Duplicate sent by way of Bethlehem, in March, 1771.

On Aug. 1st, the Cherokee chief, Young Warrior, passed through here. He did not stop on his return; but from Col. Donaldson, of Virginia we learned that the King of England has bought all of New River and part of Holston River from the Cherokees, and he was on his way to Keowee to receive the presents which had arrived in Charles-

town, worth £2500: Sterl. and then to run the boundary line behind Virginia.

* * * * *

Concerning church affairs in our County it may be stated that six years ago an attempt was made to elect a minister for the Parish of St. Luke, which includes the entire County except our land. In spite of the law the Dissenters prevailed, and no Vestry was elected, and nothing was done. Then the Governor appointed a Curate, which was announced at the August Court, and for lack of a church the Court-House at Salisbury was cleared out for him. But without a Vestry he can get no salary, and time will show whether he will stay or not.

The Regulators continue restless, and our quiet life is a thorn in the eye to them, but we have received no serious oppression from them.

Bethabara Brand.

Inferior Court, Rowan Co. Salisbury.

Bethabara Mark and Brand as follows, To wit; Brand thus ^{*}W their Mark. About one Inch Crapt off the Left Ear.

Recorded this 16th Day of August, 1770.

Marshall's Reports to U. E. C.

[A few extracts translated.]

Bethabara, Feb. 1, 1771.

First copy sent by way of Bethlehem.

Duplicate by Charlestown in April.

This is a time of year when no one is likely to go to Charlestown or Bethlehem, so I must have my letter ready, in order to take advantage of an opportunity, if one offers.

On Oct. 24th, of last year, a young man came as express from Cross Creek, bringing word from Br. Soelle that he, and five families from Broadbay, had arrived in Wilmington, and some had come as far as Cross Creek. One awakened woman [Mrs. Philip Vogler] had died in Cross Creek of the so-called Yellow Fever. Three additional families were planning to come later from Broadbay to settle in Wachovia.

* * * It is a company of which some are entangled in the net, and have not been set free, but they respect the Brethren, and especially Br. Soelle. Their wish is to buy adjoining farms, laid out in the form of a village, so that none shall be more than a quarter of an hour from the center, where they want to have a school-house or church.

* * * They have decided on land in the 13th Lot, in the 6th Deed, which lies five or six miles from Salem, for which they must pay £30: Penns. which is £32: N. C. currency, per hundred acres. Some of them are quite poor, others have more or less means, but as they must live for a year on what money they have, none of them has entirely paid for his land. I have therefore made two kinds of contracts with them. (1) To a man who can pay one half or one third, cash down, possession of the land is given, with the promise that a Deed will be made as soon as the balance is paid, he to give Bond concerning the re-sale of the land. Payment of the balance is to be made in one year; any part unpaid after that date is to draw 5% interest. He is to pay the Quit Rent from now on. (2) The man who can make no payment now receives a 20 year Lease, drawn in the usual terms; the yearly rent is fixed at 5% on the price of the land, plus the Quit Rent, and he promises at once to clear land and to build. A clause is added providing that he may buy the land at any time within seven years, for £32: N. C. currency, per hundred acres; after that period I am

not bound to sell to him. (There is no intention of taking advantage of a man by a rigid interpretation of this, but agreements must have definite stipulations.) Under such a Lease the poor can buy as well as the rich. [In the south-east corner of the Wachovia map of 1766, in this volume, are the long, narrow lots purchased by the Broad-bayers, later known as the Friedland settlement; these "additional surveys" were of course added to the map in 1771.] On Nov. 20th a beginning was made in surveying nine farms of 200 acres each; and finally they drew for choice of the farms.

* * * * *

The stonework on the Gemein Haus was finished before winter began, making it possible to continue with work on the floors, etc. But the continuing unfortunate controversy between England and the Colonies prevented our wagons from bringing glass for the windows, when they returned the middle of November from Charlestown.

[In Vol. I, of this series, the Regulators appeared quite often in the translation of the Diaries, but as each writer naturally presents a subject from a slightly different point of view Marshall's story is translated, even though it to some extent duplicates that of Br. Graff.]

Bethabara, April 20, 1771.

In the beginning of February the land was again in alarm. A leader of the Regulators was arrested in Newbern, and it is said he was imprisoned. People believed he would be sent to England, and a rendezvous was appointed, from which they intended to march to Newbern and rescue him by force of arms. When such an irregular crowd gathers they do not stop with one excess. A number had planned to go to Bethabara on Feb. 9th, and it was said that they intended to publicly whip certain active leaders, as they have done in other places. But the bad weather deterred a good many from joining in the campaign, and when the Government made preparations to oppose them they resolved to establish proper military discipline among themselves, and reduce drinking and other excesses, and so the day we dreaded passed over our heads. Meanwhile 600 armed men gathered on Haw River, but matters were adjusted, and after they had suffered much from cold and hunger they dispersed. Those who passed through here rejoiced in the first comfortable lodging they had found.

Then the fire broke out at another point. On the 6th of March General Court was to be held in Salisbury, and they determined to do there

what they had previously done in Hillsboro, and 100 men went as far as the Adkin. Therefore no Court was held, but a promise was given them that in May there should be a special session for the hearing of their complaints.

Immediately after this some of them notified us that they would come here on March 16th, to see Brn. Bagge, Bonn, and myself. Their complaint was concerning certain pieces of land bought by us more than thirteen years ago, and sold six years or more ago, none of it now being in our hands. They pretended to have had a right to this land, and expected to be paid for their loss. They even believed they had a claim to the land on which Bethabara stands! We answered them frankly, and they could not justify their claims. The conclusion was that they should draw up a statement of their contention, which I would send to Br. Jacob Loesch, who was then in charge here, and he should answer in writing, or if possible in person; but they have sent in nothing. It would have pleased them to frighten us into doing what they wished, but we did not have a guilty conscience, and were not afraid.

* * * * *

Although Bethabara and Bethania lie close together there is as great a difference in their methods as if they were far apart. Bethania does things as they come; Bethabara plans. Bethania has almost no money; in Bethabara all accounts are in cash. In Bethania the office of Saal Diener is held in turn by the members, and the Diener furnishes the candles, and whatever else is necessary. Materials for the Lovefeast and Communion are also furnished by the members in turn; only once during the year is there a small collection for congregation expenses.

* * * * *

The present building of Salem is an extraordinary affair, which I would not have undertaken had not the Saviour Himself ordered it. I verily believe that the rich city of London could not do that which we must accomplish,—move the entire town and its businesses to another place.

June 16, 1771.

As Br. Bagge, with five wagons, was on his way to Charlestown, he was detained several days at the Yadkin, for the water was high and he could not ford the river, and the ferry was being used by Gen. Waddell for his troops,—some hundreds of newly-enlisted men, with artillery and baggage. To oppose these the Regulators gathered at New Garden, a number of them passing through our town. From New

Garden they marched to meet the General, and as they had four or five times as many men as he, and beyond Salisbury had seized a wagon from Charlestown loaded with ammunition for his troops, he was obliged to fall back across the Yadkin. Thereupon the Regulators dispersed, making true for us the Text of May 11th: "This day is a day of good tidings,"

When His hour strikes for relieving
Help breaks forth amazingly;
And, to shame our anxious grieving,
Often unexpectedly.

For had there been a battle, and the Regulators successful, Bethabara would have been in great danger, for they had threatened to plunder and burn it. But their *insolence* was greatly increased, and twenty-five men, enlisted for the Governor, slipped through here, in much danger.

Meanwhile the Governor advanced to a place in Orange County, fifty miles from here, and set up his camp; the Regiments expected from New York did not come. The Regulators assembled from all quarters, several thousand strong, and on May 16th there was a two-hour fight. The first report we had was that the Governor was wounded, many of his soldiers killed, he had asked for a truce to bury his dead, which had not been granted, etc.; and had it not been for the Text of the day of battle, which promised that He would send His angels to protect His own, we might have been sore dismayed, for had the report been true our fate was sealed. Everybody had been called out against the Governor, the fields had not been planted, and if any man tried to excuse himself from joining the Regulators on the ground that he must plant his fields he was told that any men who would not go with them, including the Brethren, would be forced to give half their harvest to those who had helped fight. But the more *brutal* they had been before the battle, the more *desperate* they were later; for next day we learned that they had lost a couple of hundred men, killed and wounded; that they could not stand before the gun fire, and therefore could not make another attack, and had gradually scattered.

Then the Governor issued a Proclamation wherein Pardon was offered to all who would surrender themselves, give up their arms, promise to pay taxes, and take the Oath of Allegiance,—certain persons being expressly excepted,—and every day large numbers of Regulators came in and surrendered. Those who refused the terms had their houses burned and their fields ruined.

Each day the troops drew a little nearer Salisbury, and therefore nearer us, and they were only thirty miles away when they were joined by the troops under Gen. Waddell and Col. Fanning, and so the whole army was together. The Governor sent us a Proclamation to be posted, and a friendly greeting "to all Moravians," with the word that he would not visit us this time. On June 3rd one of our Brethren, who had been with the constable to the camp on business, returned with the report that in the camp all sorts of things were being said against us, but that the Governor had refused to allow us to be disturbed. Ten thousand pounds of meal were ordered from us, to be paid for at a low price. We agreed that it was high time for Br. Bonn and me to wait on the Governor, but on the 4th of June we learned that the Governor and his entire army were already half way to Bethabara, and would arrive that day. We had barely had time for a brief conference when we heard that he had reached Salem, and had stopped to look around and take some food, and was now nearing here. We rode out to meet him, and our trombonists greeted him a short distance outside the town, preceding the *chariot* in which he sat until he reached the lodging prepared for him. After eating, we rode with him to show him two fields, fifteen acres, suggested for the camp, of which he approved; our fifty-acre meadow, just ready for the hay-harvest, had to be used for 300 horses (fortunately most of the cavalry were out on various expeditions), but we were paid cash for the damage done. Such strict discipline was maintained that everybody wondered, but orders had been issued to the whole army before our Tract was entered, and they were rigidly enforced. [The celebration of the King's Birthday has been sufficiently presented, and further details concerning the stay in Bethabara are omitted. Marshall closes the account as follows.] I believe the Saviour wished to draw all the leading men of the country to our neighborhood at one time, for nearly all were there as volunteers in the Governor's army. All were pleased, and found in our simple life a charm which was missing elsewhere, especially in the friendliness with which our Brethren and Sisters served every one,—and indeed there was plenty of opportunity for this, for since the world has stood there have probably never been so many men together here.

* * * * *

In Salem work has gone slowly for lack of men and teams, but the Single Brethren have begun a one-story building behind the Brothers House, and have it under roof,—it is to be used for work-shops, and is 68 x 28 ft.

Our new County has begun, and the first Court was held May 21st, when the Justices of the Peace and other officers were sworn in. The place for the Court-House will not be chosen until the Commissioners arrive and the line is run.

Sept. 2, 1771.

In July the boundary line between the Counties of Rowan and Surry was run; it crosses our Tract not much over one mile south of Bethabara, so the larger part of Wachovia, including Salem, remains in the older County. Nothing can be done until the next session of the Assembly. A big mistake has been made, for it was believed that Earl Granville's land was 84 miles wide, north and south, therefore the older County was made 42 miles wide, supposedly the half, and now they find that Surry County is only 27½ miles wide, and as it is less well settled, and poorer, the matter will practically fall of itself.

Nov. 3, 1771.

This year I have given the first Deeds to Wachovia land,—to those who have paid in full for what they have bought,—namely to the Leinbach heirs for 2000 acres, to P. Rothrock and Marcus Hoehns for 2120 acres, to Traugot Bagge for 2000 acres.

* * * * *

The residents of Bethania have found all sorts of difficulties arising from holding their land on Lease, so they have decided to buy the 2500 acres set apart for them, and it will be surveyed and conveyed to them this month. Something over 3000 acres has been allotted to Salem, and has been surveyed.

* * * * *

Br. Soelle's preaching-plan is extending, for he has been more than sixty miles to the west, toward the Mulberry Fields, and forty miles south-east to the Hugh Warren, and constantly receives new invitations.

* * * * *

This fall again several families have come from Pennsylvania; one of them, a Communicant Brother from Manakasy, named Binkele, has bought 300 acres near Heinrich Schmidt; another, Williard by name, has taken 200 acres which we had bought on the borders of Wachovia; and Heinrich Schmidt, having paid in full, has received a Deed to his land.

Henry Smith's Special Bond.

[In order to prevent any of the Wachovia land from falling into the hands of undesirable settlers each man who took a Deed from the Mo-

ravians for land within the Tract was required to give a Bond that if he wished to sell he would give the Moravian office the refusal, at such price as he could get from another purchaser. A package of these "Special Bonds" in the Salem Archives contains nine Bonds of date prior to the end of 1771, as follows:

John Shaub to James Hutton and Frederic Marshall, his Attorney, 300 acres, Aug. 4, 1769;

Traugott Bagge, 2000 acres, Sept. 29, 1770;

Benjamin Leinbach, 400 acres, Dec. 26, 1770;

Lewis Leinbach, 400 acres, Dec. 26, 1770;

Marcus Hoenes, 1060 acres, May 20, 1771;

Philip Rothrock, 1060 acres, May 20, 1771;

Peter Binckle, 307 acres, Sept. 30, 1771;

John Rank, 400 acres, Sept. 30, 1771;

Henry Smith, 502½ acres, Dec. 13, 1771.

The wording of all the Bonds is the same, except as to amounts, and the one given by Henry Smith (Heinrich Schmidt) follows. It is written in English.]

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS

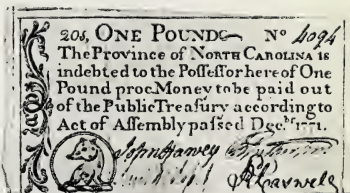
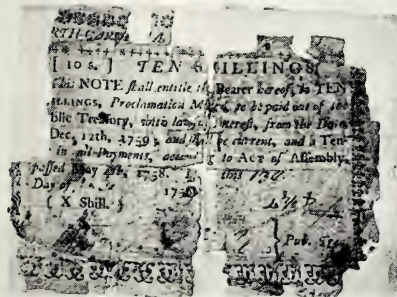
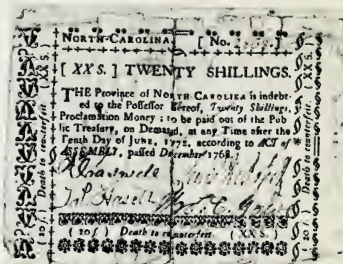
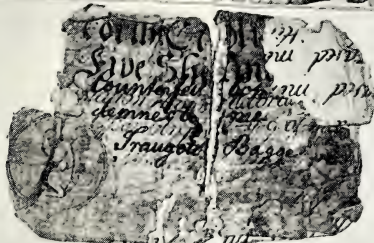
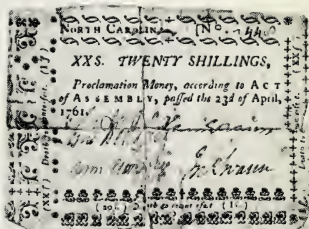
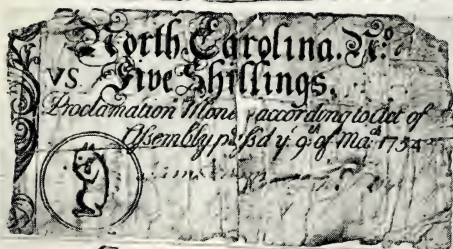
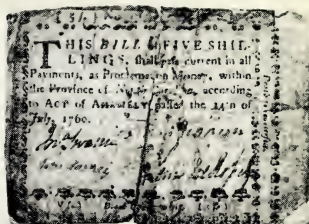
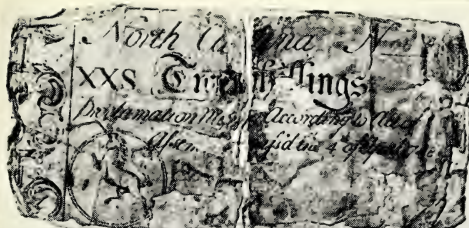
That I Henry Smith of Wachovia in Rowan County in the Province of North Carolina Black Smith am held and firmly bound unto James Hutton of Chelsea in the Kingdom of Great Britain Gentl. and Frederic Marshall of Wachovia aforesaid Gentl. Attorney of the said James Hutton in the Sum of *One hundred Pounds* Sterling lawful Money of Great Britain to be paid to the said James Hutton & Frederic Marshall or unto their certain Attorney, Executors, Administrat^{rs} or Assigns. To which Payment well and truly to be made I do bind myself my heirs, Executors and Administrators and every of them firmly by these Presents. Sealed with my Seal. Dated the thirteenth Day of December in the Year of our LORD, One thousand seven hundred and seventy one and in the twelfth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of GOD, King of Great Britain &c^a.

WHEREAS the above bounden Henry Smith is seized and possessed in Fee Simple of and in a certain Tract or Parcel of Land, situate in Wachovia aforesaid, Containing Five hundred and two and a half Acres and twelve perches As by a certain Indenture made to him the said Henry Smith by the said James Hutton and Frederic Marshall bearing Date the twenty ninth Day of September one thousand seven hundred

and sixty nine, more fully appears *Now the Condition* of this Obligation is such That if the said Henry Smith his Heirs or Assigns do not nor any of them doth at any Time or Times hereafter grant bargain sell or convey his or their Estate in the Premises or any Part or parcel thereof unto any Person or Persons whatsoever without first having made an offer of the same in Writing under his or their Hand or Hands unto him the said James Hutton or his Heirs or Assigns or unto him the said Frederic Marshall his present Attorney or unto such other Attorney or Attorneys of him the said James Hutton or his Heirs or Assigns as shall from Time to Time be legally constituted and appointed, preferably to any other Person for such reasonable Price or Consideration as may, conscionably and bona fide, be then had and obtained for the same from any other indifferent Purchaser; and shall then thereupon have received his or their final Determination in Writing *Provided* nevertheless that such Offer shall be accepted by the said James Hutton his Heirs or Assigns or his or their Attorney or Attornies within the Space of thirty Days next after the same shall have been so made in Writing unto him or them by the said Henry Smith his Heirs or Assigns as aforesaid Then this Obligation to be void or otherwise to be and remain in full Force and Virtue in the Law.

Sealed and delivered)	his	()
in the Presence of us)	Henry X Smith	()
Christ. Gottl. Reuter)	Mark	()
James Merck)		

PART II
HISTORICAL SKETCHES



COLONIAL CURRENCY OF NORTH CAROLINA
From collection in Wachovia Historical Society

PROVINCIAL CURRENCY OF NORTH CAROLINA

[Editorial.]

The history of the Provincial Currency of North Carolina seems never to have been written, and the only considerable collections of the bills issued at various times by order of the Assembly are those in the Wachovia Historical Society Museum at Winston-Salem, and in the Hall of History in Raleigh, and of these the first entirely, and the second in large part, came from the bills left in the hands of the Moravians when they ceased to have a current value. This being the case a brief outline of the matter comes within the scope of this volume, though no exhaustive treatise is attempted.

Henry Holt's *History of American Currency* gives some account of the money used by the first colonists in New England,—that is, first, the coin they brought with them; then "Wampum," or polished shells, strung as chains or belts, and used as jewelry and also as money by the Indians, and adopted by the whites as currency also. In addition to this there was a barter currency, corn, beaver skins, etc. being legal tender. In 1652 Massachusetts set up a Mint at Boston, to coin silver shillings, six-pences and three-pences, and it continued in operation more or less until about 1688, although it was a breach of the Royal prerogative for a Colony to coin money, and what they did coin,—known as "pine-tree" currency,—was not on a par with Sterling. The first paper money there was issued in 1690. The only reference that Mr. Holt makes to North Carolina is that she "issued paper to build a palace for the Governor." Larned's *History for Ready Reference*, does not even mention North Carolina in the list of Early Papers Issues; and the *Encyclopedia Americana* mistakenly states that the first issue of Paper Money in North Carolina was in 1748.

From the *Colonial Records of North Carolina* it appears that the first issue in this Province was really in 1712, there being £4000: in Bills of Credit, bearing interest; and in 1713 there was another issue of £8000: of the same kind, the occasion being the debts resting on the Province from the war with the Tuscarora Indians, 1711-1713. In 1715 the Assembly authorized the issue of £24,000: Public Bills of Credit, which were to be signed by Christopher Gale, Ed Mosely, Tobias Knight, and Daniel Richardson; and were to redeem outstanding bills,

and for future needs of the Province. Bills of the earlier issues, as redeemed, were to be publicly burned in lots of £300; interest on them to cease after Aug. 25, 1715, and value to cease after March 25, 1716. The new Bills were to be "reckoned and taken to be a good payment and Tender in Law for any of the rated commodities of the Country or other Money, allowing 50% between the same and Sterling." It was ordered that Counterfeiting or circulating counterfeits was to be "punished as a Felony, without benefit of clergy." Like the earlier Bills these of 1715 were to draw interest for two years, but that they were received with some doubt as to their value is evidenced by a Minute of Council, Aug. 4, 1716: "Resolved that such persons who refuse to Take the publick Bills of Credit in payment of Fees or Quit Rents or that demand or receive any Allowance for Taking Fees or Quit Rents in bills do very much lessen ye Credit of them and are Guilty of a very Great Breach of the Act of Assembly concerning the currency of the bills." In 1722 £12,000: was issued to redeem all outstanding Bills, less those lost and defaced.

In 1729 a new feature was introduced. £40,000: was issued, of which £10,000: was to redeem outstanding Certificates and £30,000: was to be lent on land, the rate of interest being 6%, and payment to be made in fifteen equal annual installments. According to the Act of Assembly these bills were to be reckoned "at 500% exchange." In writing to the Duke of Newcastle, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries, in 1731, Gov. George Burrington says of the Bills of 1729: "The Act itself made an Estimate of them at Four for one with respect to Virginia Currency, which is something better than Proclamation Money, Tho not so much better as the Assembly seemed to deem it. For Proclamation Money makes the chief Part of Foreign Coyns current at 6sh. 10d per Ounce, and Spanish Money passes in England at about 5sh. 6d per Ounce Sterling. The pretended Act says if the Bills in this Currency should sink from that estimate an allowance should by the Assembly be afterward ascertained on them, this was intricately enough expressed in the Act, and at the same time in Lieu of these Bills when to be paid inn If they were paid in Silver it should be taken at 25sh. per Ounce, which was stateing of it at four for one in Silver according to the old Virginia Currency which till lately was at 6sh. 3d. per Ounce. This seems the Statement made by the Act, but instead of four for one in Sterling Silver they will not pass so, nor purchase Silver under seven or eight for one, and their Credit seems more declining." In 1730 King George ordered that no more Bills of Credit should be issued without Royal authority; and in

1731 the statement is made that all old bills had been called in except those of the 1729 issue. In 1735, however, there was an issue of £50,000: of which £10,000: was in Bills of Credit for the payment of public debts, and £40,000: was to redeem outstanding Bills, though the new Bills were not legal tender. The Lords Proprietors demanded silver in payment of Quit Rents; many persons refused to receive the Bills; and by 1744 the value had decreased until 20 shillings of N. C. Currency was only worth 2 shillings Sterling.

Requests for the issue of more money were refused by Gov. Johnson until 1748, when the Province was sorely alarmed by the incursions of the Spanish from Florida, and he agreed on condition that four forts should be built immediately. The Act of Assembly was "for granting unto His Majesty the Sum of £21,350: Proclamation Money, and for stamping and emitting the said sum of £21,350: Public Bills of Credit, at the rate of Proclamation Money; to be applied towards building Fortifications in this Province, Payment of the Public Debts, exchanging the present Bills of Credit, and for making proper provision for defraying the Contingent Charges of the Government." Eleazar Allen, Edward Mosely, Samuel Swann and John Starkey were appointed Commissioners, "to stamp with Copper plates and sign with their hands" the new bills, and it must have been no small task! It was provided that one shilling of the new money was to replace 7sh. 6d. of the former Bills of Credit, which had been the rate of exchange with Proclamation Money for years.

It will be noted that the term "Proclamation Money" is here used in two senses,—for the new paper bills, which is the meaning usually attached to it now, but also for the currency which the new issue was to equal in value. In the second sense it was really a rate of exchange, not a certain kind of money. In the year 1705 Queen Anne of England issued a Proclamation "for settling and ascertaining the Current Rates of foreign Coins in all Her Majesty's Plantations in America," attention having been drawn to "the great mischief arising to Her Majesty by the different value of Coins" in circulation in the Colonies. In the sixth year of the reign of Queen Anne, Parliament passed an Act fixing the relative value of these foreign coins; and this Act was still in force in 1754, when in the Instructions given to Governor Dobbs he was "strictly enjoined to take the most effectual care for the future that the said Act be punctually and bona fide observed." "Proclamation Money" therefore, was originally all foreign coin circulating in the American Colonies, as rated by the Proclamation of Queen Anne; and by analogy it became the paper money of intended equal value.

In 1754 the Assembly of North Carolina granted "to His Majesty the sum £40,000: in Public Bills of Credit, at the rate of Proclamation Money, to be applied towards defraying the expense of raising and subsisting the Forces for His Majesty's Service in this Province, to be sent to the assistance of his Majesty's Colony of Virginia, and for other purposes," the breaking out of the French and Indian War having aroused the people to the need of troops for defense. John Swann, Lewis de Rosset, Samuel Swann and John Starkey were named as the Committee to issue and sign the new Bills, which were to be legal tender at the rate of 4 sh. Proc. to 3 sh. Sterling. The penalty for counterfeiting was the same as in 1748, that is "for a first offense to be whipped, not exceeding 40 lashes, and stand in the Pillory 2 hours, and have both ears nailed to the Pillory and cut off; for second offense to be deemed a Felon, without benefit of clergy, and suffer accordingly," which meant death.

The French and Indian War continuing for several years there were various issues of interest-bearing Treasury Notes, which were to be covered by the receipts from Poll Taxes; but it proved to be "impracticable" to raise revenue by Poll Tax "on account of the reduced state of the Province," so in 1760 there was another issue of Bills of Credit, £12,000: at the rate of Proclamation Money, "to be current and a Lawful Tender in all Payments whatsoever." The same Committee served as in 1754. In 1761 £20,000: were issued under the same circumstances, the Act stating that the money was to be used "for raising, clothing, and paying 500 effective Men, and for paying and subsisting 50 Men and Officers now in Garrison," etc.

In 1768, James Hassell, Lewis de Rosset, Richard Caswell and Thomas Clifford Howe were appointed to supervise the emission of £20,000: "of such denominations as they shall think convenient." The money was to be used to pay the forces raised to suppress "the late dangerous Insurrection on the Western Frontier," where the Regulator troubles were beginning; to pay for the running of the Dividing Line between the Province of North Carolina and the Hunting Grounds of the Indians; and for the general expenses of the Government. To cover these Treasury Certificates it was provided that "2 shillings Proclamation" was to be levied as Poll Tax, beginning in 1771, which was to be paid, as were other public taxes, in gold and silver, or Proclamation Money, "or Commodities as hereinafter rated," which were:—

Tobacco, at 15 shillings per hundredweight,

Hemp, entitled to a Bounty of 40 shillings per hundredweight,

Rice, at 12 sh. per hundredweight,

Indigo, at 4 sh. per pound,
Bees-wax, at 1 sh. per pound,
Myrtle-wax, at 8 sh. per pound,
Tallow, at 6 sh. per pound,
Indian dressed deer skins, not weighing less than 1 lb. each, at 2 sh. 6d. per pound.

In 1771 it was found "absolutely necessary" to raise £60,000: to pay the expenses of "the late necessary expedition against the Insurgents,"—the Regulators,—and an Act was passed by the Assembly to issue "De-benture Bills" to that amount, which were to be redeemed from the proceeds of a Poll Tax of 2 shillings Proc. per taxable person, the Tax to continue for ten years, unless the issue had been paid off earlier. To prevent counterfeiting "the Public Treasurer shall not redeem or receive from any Person whatsoever any of the said Bills which shall appear to have any paper, or other thing whatsoever, pasted, glued or sealed on the Back thereof." John Rutherford, Lewis Henry De Rosset, Richard Caswell and John Harvey were appointed the Committee to issue these Bills, which were the last to appear as Provincial Currency.

In 1775 North Carolina practically became independent of Great Britain, and her Provincial Congress issued \$125,000.00 of "North Carolina Currency," the wording of each Bill being: "This Bill entitles the Bearer to receive—Spanish milled Dollars or the value thereof in Gold and Silver according to the Resolution of the provincial Congress held at Hillsboro the 21st day of Aug. 1775." These were the first Specie Certificates in North Carolina, and \$250,000.00 additional were issued in April, 1776, and \$1,000,000.00 more in May of the same year.

The uncertainty of the political situation greatly complicated the financial one. In 1777 Cornelius Harnett wrote to Thomas Burke that "the Tories and sordid Whigs" were discriminating against the new issues and in favor of the Bills issued under British authority, making at least 100% difference in favor of the latter, "which in its consequences must ruin our public Credit"; active Continentals, as the best means of combating this, recommended that all outstanding English Provincial Bills should be repudiated, and condemned as valueless. The Assembly held in August, 1778, decided to retire both the Provincial Bills, and those issued by the various North Carolina Congresses since 1775, and authorized an issue of \$2,125,000.00, of which \$1.00 was to equal 8 shillings Proclamation Money, or one Spanish milled Dollar. The Act provided that the English Provincial Currency should be redeemable until Feb. 1, 1779, and should not pass current after that date, and that "the Bills emitted under the authority of Congress since our war

with Britain shall be paid into the public Treasury before the first day of May, or be held irredeemable" and no longer pass current. The new issue was to be legal tender; and counterfeiting was to "receive judgment of death, without benefit of clergy."

Why the Moravians of Wachovia kept so many of the old Bills of different issues will never be known. Practically all are torn, and they may not have been accepted for redemption; and they may have been filed away for the future, just as Diaries and other papers were filed. Whatever the cause their existence is most fortunate, showing at it does the actual form of so large a proportion of the bills circulated. From the few reproduced in this volume it will appear that while they were all approximately of the same size the designs were all different,—no two in the entire collection are alike, though a certain similarity runs through all of one issue. As a matter of reference a table is given showing the dates of issues of the Colonial Currency, and the denominations authorized by the Assemblies, so far as they are preserved in the *Colonial Records*, the figures being printed in italics whenever there is a specimen in the collection in the Wachovia Historical Society Museum of Winston-Salem.

Issue of 1712, £4,000: interest-bearing Bills of Credit.

Issue of 1713, £8,000: interest-bearing Bills of Credit.

Issue of 1715, £24,000: Public Bills of Credit; legal tender.

Issue of 1722, £12,000: to redeem outstanding Bills.

Issue of 1729, £40,000: part to be lent on land at 6% interest.

Issue of 1735, £50,000: not legal tender.

Issue of 1748, £21,350: Public Bills of Credit, at the rate of Proclamation Money.

Authorized denominations,—4*d*; 8*d*; 1*sh*; 2*sh*; 2*sh* 6*d*; 3*sh*; 5*sh*; 6*sh*; 7*sh* 6*d*; 9*sh*; 10*sh*; 15*sh*; 20*sh*; 30*sh*; 40*sh*; £3.

Issue of 1754, £40,000: Public Bills of Credit, Proc. rate.

Authorized denominations,—40*sh*; 30*sh*; 26*sh* 8*d*; 20*sh*; 15*sh*; 10*sh*; 5*sh*; 4*sh*; 2*sh* 8*d*; 1*sh* (three designs); 8*d* (two designs); 4*d*.

Issue of 1756, £3,600: interest-bearing Treasury Notes.

Issue of 1757, £5,306: interest bearing at 6%.

Issue of 1757, £9,500: interest-bearing at 6%.

The Hall of History at Raleigh has one £5: Note.

Issue of 1758, £7,000: bearing lawful interest.

Wachovia Historical Society has £5; 20*sh*; 10*sh*.

Issue of 1758, £4,000: interest-bearing Treasury Notes.

Issue of 1760, £12,000: at the rate of Proclamation Money.

Authorized denominations,—£3; £2; 30sh; £1; 10sh; 5sh; 2sh 8d; 2sh; 1sh; 8d; 6d; 4d.

Issue of 1761, £20,000: Proclamation Money.

Authorized denominations,—£3; 40sh; 30sh; 20sh; 15sh; 10sh; 5sh; 4sh; 3sh; 2sh 6d; 2sh; 1sh; 8d; 6d; 4d.

Issue of 1768, £20,000: Treasury Certificates.

Wachovia Historical Society has,—£5; £3; 40sh; 20sh; 10sh; 5sh; 2sh 6d.

Issue of 1771, £60,000: Debenture Bills.

Authorized denominations,—£5; £3; £2; 30sh; 20sh; 10sh; 5sh; 2sh 6d (*two designs*); 1sh.

THE WRIGHT COURT-HOUSE

[Editorial.]

The Act of Assembly of 1771, which erected Surry County, provided that its Courts should be held at the home of Gideon Wright, and according to custom General Musters were held at the same place. It is significant of the utter oblivion which has fallen upon its history that the editor of this volume made two expeditions into the neighborhood where an old Moravian map showed that Gideon Wright lived, (page 433, Vol. I, this series) without finding any resident who had ever heard of the Wright Court House! Finally the search was successful, and on a third visit the site was pointed out, and the basis laid for further investigation.

The name of Gideon Wright appears quite often in the records of Wachovia. As a Justice of the Peace he sat in the County Court; and he came to Bethabara at intervals. During the trouble with the Regulators he sided with Gov. Tryon, as did the Armstrongs and Martins, and rose to the rank of Colonel. When the Revolution began the Armstrongs and Martins took up arms for the country, and Col. Wright remained loyal to the King. He was among those called by Gov. Josiah Martin to rouse the Loyalists prior to the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, but there is no record of his having obeyed the summons. In 1775 Col. Alexander Martin expressed the fear that Col. Wright and his brother were "obstinate enemies" of the country; and Gen. William Lenoir, when applying for pension after the War, stated that he had helped to arrest the Tory Gideon Wright and take him to prison at Richmond, but nothing serious can have been proved against him for in the spring of 1780 the State of North Carolina gave him a Grant for 200 acres of land, although the land of certain active Tories was being confiscated. He did join in the Tory uprising of the summer of 1780, but was not sufficiently prominent to bring about the seizure of his land even then, and there is a family tradition that before his death he had taken the Oath of Allegiance to the State Government.

The history of the Wright Court-House falls into the period between the beginning of the Regulator struggle and the beginning of the Revolution, when Col. Gideon Wright ranked in the Colony as a man prominent on the side of law and order. It has always been customary to place the Court-House in the center of a County, apparently without any regard to accessibility or the possibilities of town development, and the man with a house somewhere near the center, and the necessary

influence with those in authority, had a good chance for a try at any personal advantage that might ensue,—hence the rivalry between Gideon Wright and the Armstrongs. In 1771 Wright was ahead, and having secured the Court he built a Court-House quite near his own dwelling, and there Courts and Musters were held until 1774, by which time the Armstrongs had out-manouvered him, and the County Seat was moved to Richmond.

The line of 1771, dividing Rowan County into Rowan and Surry, passed east and west between Salem and Bethabara, therefore all Court records, Deeds and the like, for Salem and the section around it are in Salisbury until 1774; but there is a gap in the records of the northern part,—the present Counties of Surry and Stokes and the upper ends of Forsyth and Yadkin,—for the records of the Wright Court-House are lost,—the records at Dobson, Surry County, begin with the Richmond date of 1774. The Diaries of Wachovia, therefore, give the only remaining glimpses of what went on in the Wright Court-House, for Bethabara transacted business there, while Salem went to Salisbury. The index to this and the preceding volume can be followed, and it is not necessary to repeat here.

Of the land on which the Wright Court-House stood the story is known, for Mr. Wiley Scott has the Deeds dating back to Earl Granville. They show that in 1762 the Agent of Earl Granville granted to Gideon Wright a strip of land east of the Yadkin River, said River forming its western boundary. The tract (A, Key Map) was estimated to contain 69 acres. In April, 1780, Wright bought from the State of North Carolina an additional 200 acres (F, Key Map), which surrounded the tract above mentioned in the form of a reversed letter L. The Grants to tracts B and C, and the Deed to H, all refer to "Gideon Wright's survey," so it is evident that he had also taken up the tract marked G, but he did not perfect that purchase for it was granted to James Badget in the same month that Wright received the Grant to F. The present Donnaha Station, on the North-Western North Carolina Railroad, is on the G tract.

Gideon Wright died toward the end of 1782. In 1790 "Elisabeth Wright, widow," listed ninety-six acres for taxation in Stokes County; and in 1791 Hezekiah and Elisabeth Wright deeded both tracts (A and F) to George Hauser, Esq.—in this transaction tract A appears as "100 acres, more or less," though the boundaries are the same as in the Granville Grant. In 1796 Hauser deeded the 200 acre tract (F) to Leonard Scott, and the next year the State of North Carolina granted to Scott the tract A as "an overplus which was included within the lines

of the tract of Land said Scott now lives on," and in this Grant it is called fifty acres, though still with the original boundaries. By inheritance the land passed to John Scott, who bought some adjoining property. He had twelve heirs, and in the division of his Estate each received two lots, one on the River front and one upland. Several of these heirs bought up the interests of the others, at different dates, and it is only necessary to state that John W. Scott bought some of the tracts in addition to what he inherited, and that at his death his property was divided between his son, Wiley Scott, and daughter Cora, who married Hoke Petree, both of whom have bought still more of the original Wright land. The Wright Court-House of course stood on Wright's first tract (A), and its site now belongs to Mrs. Hoke Petree.

Today that site is a wooded hillside overlooking the Yadkin River bottom, which can scarcely be seen through the thick underbrush. There is a depression pointed out as the cellar of the Court-House; and a smaller but deeper hole once the Court-House well. A short distance away is a little pile of stones, traditionally the foundation of the chimney in Wright's home. Back of the house and across the tiny brook is the family burial ground, still marked by a few roughly squared stones though no names are visible,—Mr. Scott said that as a boy he had been able to decipher the Wright name on two or three. Even the family has disappeared from the neighborhood, and while there is a gentleman in the far west who thinks he is descended from Col. Gideon Wright the connection has not been definitely proved.

There is something almost pathetic in this forgotten link in the history of the County, in those slowly filling depressions in the forest, far from any now-traveled road, where once the judicial, political, and military life of Surry heard causes, schemed schemes, and drilled with flying banner and shrilling fife, its sole monument a file of old Grants and Deeds, and a few scattered references in the Diaries of a people who took no part in schemes or drills, and as little as possible in legal procedure.

The Granville Grant, with its quaint phraseology, follows in full, including the various notations on its back.

Grant from Earl Granville to Gideon Wright.

THIS INDENTURE Made the Tenth Day of August in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty Two Between the Right Honorable John Earl Granville, Viscount Cartaret, and Baron Cartaret, of Hawnes in the County of Bedford, in the Kingdom of

Great Britain, Lord President of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, of the one Part; and Gedeon Wright of Rowan County in the Province of North Carolina of the other Part. WHEREAS His Most Excellent Majesty King George the Second, in and by a certain Indenture bearing Date the Seventeenth Day of September, in the Eighteenth Year of His Reign, and in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty Four, and made between His said Most Excellent Majesty on the one Part, and the said John Earl Granville, by the Name,, Stile, and Title of the Right Honourable John Lord Carteret, of the other Part; DID, for the Consideration therein mentioned, Give and Grant, Release, Ratify, and Confirm, unto the said Earl, (by the Name, Stile, and Title of John Lord Carteret, as aforesaid) and his Heirs and Assigns, for ever, a certain District, Territory, or Parcel of Land lying in the Province of North-Carolina in America, and all the Sounds, Creeks, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Streams, and other Royalties, Franchises, Privileges, and Immunities, within the same, as they are therein set out, or described, allotted, granted and confirmed, to the said John Earl Granville, as aforesaid, for one Eighth Part of the Charters granted by King Charles the Second, in the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Years of His Reign to eight Lords Proprietors of Carolina; as by the said Indenture duly enrolled in the High Court of Chancery in Great-Britain and in the Secretary's Office of the Province of North-Carolina, Reference being thereto had, will more fully appear. NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH, That as well for and in Consideration of the Sum of Ten Shillings Sterling Money to the said John Earl Granville in Hand paid, by the said Gedion Wright, at or before the Sealing and Delivery of these Presents, the Receipt whereof he the said Earl doth hereby acknowledge; as also for and in Consideration of the Rent, Covenants, Exceptions, Provisos, and Agreements, herein after-mentioned, reserved and contained, and by, and on the Part and Behalf of the said Gedion Wright his Heirs and Assigns, to be paid, kept and performed; He, the said Earl, HATH given, granted, bargained, sold, and confirmed, and by these Presents DOTH give, grant, bargain, sell, and confirm, unto the said Gedion Wright his Heirs and Assigns, for ever, ALL that Tract or Parcel of vacant Land situate, lying and being in the Parish of..... in the County of Rowan in the said Province, Lying on the East side of Yadkin River Opposite to Benjamin Pittitt Beg. at an Elm on the Bank of the River at the mouth of the Branch & Runs S^o 63 Ch^s to a W^t Oak then W^d 13 Ch^s to a W^t Oak on the River Bank

then up the River to the Beginning Containing
in the Whole Sixty Nine Acres of Land: All which Premises are more particularly described and set forth in the Plan or Map hereunto annexed; TOGETHER with all Woods, Underwoods, Timber and Timber-Trees, Water-Courses; and the Privilege of Hunting, Hawking, Fishing and Fowling, in and upon the Premises, and all Mines and Minerals whatsoever therein to be found (excepting and always reserving out of this present Grant unto the King's Most Excellent Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, one Fourth Part of all the Gold and Silver Mines to be found in and upon the Premises; and also EXCEPTING and always reserving unto the said John Earl Granville, his Heirs and Assigns one Moiety or Half of the remaining Three Fourths of all such Gold and Silver Mines; TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said Tract or Parcel of vacant Land, and all and singular other the Premises with their Appurtenances, (except before excepted) unto the said Gedion Wright his Heirs and Assigns, for ever; YIELDING AND PAYING therefore Yearly, and every Year unto the said John Earl Granville, his Heirs or Assigns, the Yearly Rent or Sum of Two Shillings and Eight Pence, which is at the Rate of Three Shillings Sterling for every Hundred Acres, and so in Proportion for a less Quantity, at or upon the Twenty-fifth Day of March, and the Twenty-ninth Day of September in every Year, by even and equal Portions, and to be paid at the Court-house of the said County of Rowan unto the said Earl, his Heirs or Assigns, or to his or their lawful Attorney or Receiver for the Time being; the first Payment thereof to be made on such of the aforementioned Days of Payment, as shall first happen after the Date hereof. AND the said Gedion Wright for his Heirs and Assigns, and for either and every of them doth hereby covenant, promise, and agree, to and with the said Earl, his Heirs and Assigns, and to and with either and every of them, by these Presents, in Manner and Form following: That is to say; That Gedion Wright his Heirs and Assigns shall and will Yearly and every Year for ever, well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the said Earl his Heirs or Assigns, or to his or their lawful Attorney or Receiver for the Time being, on the Days, and at the Place aforesaid, the aforesaid Yearly Rent or Sum of Two Shillings & Eight Pence, by half Yearly Payments, as aforesaid: PROVIDED always, and this present Grant is hereby expressly declared and agreed, by and between the said Parties, to be nevertheless UPON THIS CONDITION, viz. That if it shall happen that the said Yearly Rent of Two Shillings & 8 Pence or any Part thereof, shall, at any Time hereafter, be behind or unpaid for the Space of Six

Months, next over or after either of the aforementioned Days of Payment (and no sufficient Distress can be found on the Premises whereon it shall be lawful to levy such Rent and Arrears, with the full Costs, Charges, and Expenses in making the same) THAT then this present Grant, and all Assignments thereof, shall be utterly void and of none Effect: AND it shall be lawful for the said Earl, his Heirs or Assigns, to re-enter into the said Lands, and to re-grant the same to any other Person or Persons whomsoever, as if this Grant, and such Assignments, had never been made. IN WITNESS whereof, the Parties above-named have to these Presents interchangeably set their Hands and Seals, the Day and Year herein first above written.

Granville

by

Tho. Child.

Be it remembered that on the Day and Year first above written, Thomas Child Esq. by Virtue of a Special Letter of Attorney and Commission under the Hand and Seal of the above-named John Earl Granville, to him made for this Purpose, and duly entered and registered in the Secretary's Office of the Province of North Carolina, did, in the Name of the said Earl, subscribe this Grant with the said Earl's Title and [words are illegible] liver the same as His the said Earl's Act and Deed, in the Presence of us,

Jn^o H [illegible]

JOHN A. FROHOCK

Examined by

John A. Frohock

[The accompanying Map shows the outline of the survey, giving the same boundaries as those named in the Grant. It ends]

Surveyed May the 19th 1762

Gideon Wright }
 & } S: C. C^{rs}.
 George Sprinkle }

JOHN A. FROHOCK

[Endorsed on the back of the Grant are the following entries:—]

Rowan
Gideon Wright
69

October Court, 1762.

North Carolina }
Rowan County } to wit

This is to Certify that the within Deed was duly Proved in open Court and Recorded in the Clerk's Office as the Law Directs,

Let it be Registered.—

North Carolina }
Rowan County } to wit

The Within Deed of Sale and the above Certificate are duly Registered in the Register's Office of s^d County in Book No. 5 Page 75 &c

JOHN BRALY
Pub. Reg.

p^d for Recording 3sh.

Eliza. Wright's Deeds to file a Petition, Stokes Court.

[The second, that is the 200 acre tract, belonging to Gideon Wright is not directly connected with the Wright Court-House, but the Grant is here copied as a sample of the Grants issued by the State of North Carolina during the Revolutionary War.]

No. 291.

STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA.

To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. Know ye, That We, for and in Consideration of the Sum of Fifty Shillings for every Hundred Acres hereby granted, paid into our Treasury by Gideon Wright, have Given and Granted, and by these Presents do Give and Grant unto the said Gideon Wright a Tract of Land, containing Two Hundred Acres, lying and being in our County of Surry

Beginning at a red Oak on the Yadkin River running East forty one Chains to a red Oak thence North Sixty one Chains to a Red Oak thence West thirty one Chains to a stake in his own line thence South on said line Fifty one Chains to his Corner Post Oak thence West on his Line thirteen and a half Chains to his Corner White Oak on the River aforesaid thence down the same as it meanders to the Beginning, as by the Plat hereunto annexed doth appear; together with all Woods,

Waters, Mines, Minerals, Hereditaments, and Appurtenances, to the said Land belonging or appertaining: To hold to the said Gideon Wright his Heirs and Assigns, for ever. Yielding and paying to us such Sums of Money yearly, or otherwise, as our General Assembly from Time to Time may direct. Provided always, That the said Gideon Wright shall cause this Grant to be registered in the Register's Office of our said County of Surry within Twelve Months from the Date hereof, otherwise the same shall be void and of no Effect.

In Testimony whereof, we have caused our Great Seal to be hereunto affixed. Witness RICHARD CASWELL, Esquire, our Governor, Captain General, and Commander in Chief, at Kingston, the Third Day of April in the Fourth Year of our Independence, and in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty.

R. C. CASWELL.

By His Excellency's Command
Jn. Franck, Pro Sec

[The annexed Plat gives the same boundaries, and ends,—]

Surveyed March 11th 1779.

Swⁿ Ch. C.
Gidⁿ. Wright
Laughlin Flin

W^m. Thornton D, S^r.

[On the back of the Grant is written,—]

Gideon Wright 200 Acres

Surry County

Recorded in the Secretary's Office

Jn. Franck Pro Sec

Surry County March 10th 1782
Registered in the Register's Office
in Book B. Page 83

W^m. Thornton D. Reg^r.

[Part of the old Seal is still attached to the Grant.]

RICHMOND COURT-HOUSE

[Editorial.]

While the site of the Wright Court-House lies forgotten in a forest, the site of Richmond Court-House lies on a hillside, on the edge of a wheat field, known to every one in the vicinity, and pointed out with a smile, and usually with the story of the dramatic ending of Richmond Town. And yet the story of Richmond Court-House is really as little known as that of its predecessor, the only item of general knowledge being that Andrew Jackson, later President of the United States, was there admitted to the bar. The entry in the records of the "Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions of Surry County in Richmond, Tuesday, Nov. 13, 1787," reads "Wm. Cupples and Andrew Jackson, Esqs. Each produced a License from the Hon. Sam Ashe and John Williams, Esq. two of the Judges of the Superior Court of Law and Equity, Authorizing and Impowering them to practice as Attorneys in the several County Courts, etc., with Testimonials of their having taken the necessary Oath, and are admitted to practice in this Court." The few paragraphs which follow are taken from the Moravian records and from Wills and Deeds in the Court-Houses of Surry (at Dobson), Stokes (at Danbury), and Forsyth (at Winston-Salem), and have cost an uncounted number of hours, together with some nine hundred miles of automobile travel in the necessary, repeated visits to the Court-Houses aforesaid. The simple Key Map which accompanies the sketch was drawn from information contained in about fifty Deeds, no account being taken of the many other Deeds which were examined and discarded as not applying to this tract. It should be remembered that when land passes by inheritance there is usually no record filed; and while Grants had to be recorded to make them effective, in the Richmond days Deeds need not be, so it is little less than marvelous that enough remains to make a map possible.

When Rowan County was divided in 1771 Col. Gideon Wright and Maj. John Armstrong each wanted to have the Court-House on his land. The Bethabara Diary, March 11, 1771, says: "Mr. Gideon Wright was here today, wishing to borrow £20.; in order to secure from the Governor a Charter for the new Court-House to be erected for Surry County; Mr. Martin Armstrong will also soon go thither to try to get a Charter for a Market. It is evident that certain people are very active in looking out for their own interests in the impending

County changes." March 26th it is recorded that "Mr. John Armstrong rode through here on his way to get a Charter for the Court-House for the new County"; but when he returned, April 15th, he showed the Brethren a copy of the Act of Assembly which ordered the Courts held at the home of Gideon Wright (Key Map, tract A). The Wachovia Diaries intimate that there was jealousy between the Armstrongs and Gideon Wright because Wright made a better record than they did in the Regulator struggle, but the public opposition to the Wright Court-House was based on its location, as appears from the Bethabara Diary of Aug. 22, 1771, which states: "Mr. Anthony Hampton, one of the Surry County Commissioners, was here. He said that three of the five Commissioners were at Court today, and discussed another place for a Court-House, as Gideon Wright's was very inconvenient, but they had been unable to agree. Mr. Dunn stood for Wright's, the others, especially Mr. Martin, were opposed, and Mr. Martin said he would not come to Court again for four years."

The place selected by the Armstrongs and Martins was about two miles north-east of the Wright home, and three-quarters of a mile east of the Yadkin River. It was "vacant" land, that is it belonged to Earl Granville, and had not yet been sold, but a man by the name of Snead had built a store there, which John Armstrong bought from him, the exact date of the purchase not being given in the Wachovia Diary. A short distance to the south of this store was a large tract of land, 700 acres (B, on Key Map) belonging to Major Andrew Bailie, formerly of Donaghindry, County Tirone, Ireland, but now of Georgia. Maj. Bailie had been granted this tract in 1762 by Earl Granville; his holdings were quite extensive, for his Power of Attorney to Quintin Pooler, dated May 26, 1770 (in Book A, Dobson Court-House), mentions seven tracts in Rowan and Anson Counties, totaling 3823 acres. March 15, 1771, Bailie and Pooler gave Power of Attorney to Traugott Bagge to sell the Rowan County Land; but without notice to any of the parties concerned Sheriff Martin Armstrong, John Armstrong's brother, put up the 700 acre tract at "publick sale," and John Armstrong bought it in, his plan being to lay out a County Town on the tract. Aug. 18th, 1772, the Bethabara Diary records the arrival of Mr. Pooler, his indignation at the sale, and his determination to appeal to a Court of Chancery (later known as Court of Equity) for the recovery of this land. Three days later the Diary states that the land would have to be returned to Mr. Bailie, and that Traugott Bagge had agreed to buy it.

Writing to the U. E. C. in August, 1773, Marshall tells the story of how the Armstrongs secured the Bailie tract, giving some details that were not known when the Diary was written, and which naturally do not appear in the official records of the County. He says that "Br. Bagge had been commissioned by a gentleman residing elsewhere to sell certain pieces of land which had come to him, in which Br. Bagge had been partially successful. One piece remained which seemed to the Sheriff a suitable place for a town and for the Court-House, he being one of the Commissioners appointed to decide on the Court-House site, so he wanted to secure possession of it, and secretly discussed it with the other Commissioners, who as usual, were none too favorably inclined toward us, and some of them our bitter enemies. A small, old debt of the former owner of this land was made the pretext, suit was brought in Salisbury, and execution ordered against this tract; and without public notice given, and without notice to Br. Bagge, it was put up at auction, and as there were no other bidders it was bought in by the Sheriff's brother for a ridiculously small sum, declared the place for the Court-House, a town was laid out, and building begun. Br. Bagge reported the proceedings to the gentleman who had empowered him to sell, who promised to bring the matter into a Court of Chancery, and then to sell the land to us; but on account of sickness he went back to Georgia, and since then he has done nothing, and has answered no letters. Moreover, on account of the present situation in the Province no civil terms of court are being held, so nothing could be done. Meanwhile we hear that the Sheriff has made overtures to him through another gentleman, offering to pay a better price if he is allowed to retain possession." Evidently these negotiations were successful, for in April, 1774, John Armstrong sold the tract to his friend William Sheppard, the Deed stating that the land was bought "at publick sale," by John Armstrong, and was "taken by virtue of an Execution at the suit of the Exrs. of Gov. Dobbs."

Meanwhile Armstrong had gone ahead with the erection of the new Court-House, the Commissioners, in private session, having decided on a spot a bit to the west of Snead's store (Bethabara Diary, Aug. 21, 1772). Presumably John Armstrong had already "entered" the 640 acre tract (C, Key Map) on which both stood, though it was actually granted to him by the State of North Carolina in Dec. 1778. The explanation of the delay is doubtless that Earl Granville had died in 1763, and his Land Office in North Carolina had been closed; his son and heir, Robert Granville, found himself in financial difficulties,

then the Revolution came on and property held by Englishmen was confiscated by the new State Government, so that for some years title rested on Entries and Surveys, being finally perfected by State Grants. An additional tract of 300 acres (D, Key Map) was granted to John Armstrong by the State at the same time as the tract which contained the "Richmond town land." Across the Town Fork Road from John Armstrong, Robert Walker secured 400 acres (E, Key Map), formerly "the Douglas Place," his State Grant being dated 1779; and east of Walker and on the same side of the Town Fork Road was Col. Martin Armstrong (J, Key Map). Malcom Curry had a tract to the north-east of Martin Armstrong. To complete the list of adjoining properties it may be stated that 440 acres, lying between John Armstrong and the Yadkin River (G, Key Map), was granted by the State of N. C. to James Badget in April, 1780; was sold by Badget to William Sheppard in June, 1781; and was sold by William Sheppard to John Armstrong in August, 1786. North of this tract, lay 640 acres, which were granted by the State to Samuel Cummings in 1778, and were sold by Joseph Philips to William Sheppard in 1781 (H, Key Map). The tract K remained "vacant" until 1801, when the State of North Carolina granted 200 acres to James Smith. Of this tract Smith sold the lower 100 acres to Joseph Miller in 1805, and the other 100 acres were bought by Miller in 1810, after having first passed through other hands.

South of the Bailie tract, with a short River frontage closing the gap between the Bailie and the Gideon Wright tracts, was a 250 acre tract later known as "the old Shore tract" (L, Key Map,) which in 1791 belonged to Henry Shore, Sr.

The Richmond Court-House was ready for use in 1774, and the Moravian Diarist says that Col. Martin Armstrong drew the plan for Richmond Town. To reconstruct this plan seemed at first hopeless, the only clue being the hole that marks the Court-House cellar, and the odd angles in the old road from Bethania to Old Richmond, which divided Lot No. 1 from Lots 2 and 3 in the division of the Scales Estate in 1866. When the Town of Richmond was granted a Charter by the Assembly of 1779 (Colonial Records) reference is made to its being on a 100 acre tract belonging to John Armstrong and William Sheppard; the south-west corner of Armstrong's 640 acre tract appears from the first as "the south-west corner of Richmond Town Land," and the plan as drawn includes about 100 acres in the N. W. Square, the N. E. Square, and the row of lots across the north ends of the S. W. and S. E. Squares, the courses given in various Deeds indicating that all

these were on the Armstrong tract. However, when William Sheppard sold the 700 acre tract (B) to Edmund Kirby in 1789 he expressly excepted "the lots sold to Sneed, Walker, etc." and there are other indications that lots were laid off outside the Town Land itself. The Deeds from Armstrong and Sheppard to the Commissioners of Richmond are not recorded, but fortunately the Deeds from the Commissioners to certain individuals which were put to record, (and which may be found in Dobson and Danbury,) while they do not nearly cover the entire acreage do give just the information needed to make possible the reproduction of the town map. The "Court-House Diamond" in the N. W. Square, was really not a diamond but a trapezoid,—its two sloping sides were parts of the old Bethania Road, and are still in use, meeting at the apex of the triangle in which Donnaha School-House stands; the old Town Fork Road is now known locally as the road to Pilot Mountain, but the old Ararat Road now turns south-west to Donnaha Station instead of going across the hill to meet the Town Fork Road as it formerly did. The north line of the trapezoid can still be traced across the hill in front of the School-House, though it is overgrown with bushes,—it was a part of the old Bethania Road until about twenty years ago when Mr. Francis Speas gave the public permission to cut across his land, this farm road running just to the north of the Court-House site. There is no clue as to why, in earlier years, Broad Street was closed in front of the Court-House, or why for so long a time traffic went around the Diamond. On the ground there is no trace of the Diamond (also a trapezoid) in the N. E. Square, which is mentioned in the old town Deeds, but there the old Bethania Road was virtually Broad Street. Since the sand-clay road has been opened from Bethania to Donnaha Bridge the old Bethania Road has been virtually abandoned. The Spring Street of the town map has been changed into a road more in line with the west side of the Court-House Diamond, and in recent years the spring from which it took its name has been "blinded." Liberty Street also has disappeared, though it was a property line in 1822 when Jesse Kerby sold to Jacob Conrad the west end of the Armstrong tract (C), being 80 acres which can be identified on the Key Map as extending from Liberty Street to the line of tract G, and north from B to E. In the angles of the Diamond in the N. W. Square the triangular lots were of $67\frac{1}{2}$ square poles; in the N. E. Square the triangular lot within the Diamond was 91 square poles; the full lots in the N. W. and N. E. Squares were each 144 square poles, in the S. W. and S. E Squares they were 180 square

poles each. Liberty and Broad Streets were 99 feet wide; the width of the other streets does not appear.

In 1784 Martin Armstrong, John Snead, Samuel Cummins, Malcom Curry, and Job Martin, were "Commissioners and Trustees for the Town of Richmond"; in 1790 John Randleman had taken the place of John Snead.

In the N. W. Square the $\frac{1}{2}$ Lot No. 1 was sold by Samuel Cummins to William Hughlett in Sept. 1790, for £50:—presumably it had a house on it for in January, 1790, Hughlett had bought nine other lots from the Town Commissioners for a total price of £18. Of these Nos. 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, were in the N. W. Square, and measured 144 sq. poles each. They are mentioned by number only, and therefore cannot be plotted. Lot No. 13, a half-lot, was sold by the Commissioners to Adley Osborn in May, 1780, and was sold again by the Commissioners to John T. Longino in April, 1786. The Cummins lot ran "to corner of Col. John Armstrong's house" (a).

In the N. E. Square, in 1783, John Randleman took a Deed to Lot No. 1, "inside the Diamond, the lot on which John Snead lived," which at its north end cornered with William Sheppard (b). Randleman also had Nos. 11 and 12 in the same Square. In 1807 James Franklin sold to Enoch Franklin 103 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, "on the north-west side of Feeglees Creek, with lots in Richmond,"—the 17 lots were numbered 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, which were evidently on the north side of Broad Street, outside the Town Land, for the courses indicate that the line of the tract crossed the Creek, and ran south-east about to the dividing line between Nos. 13 and 14, in the S. E. Square thence west to the Town Land, and north on its east line to its corner.

In the S. W. Square, Thomas Poindexter took Deed to Nos. 9 and 16 in 1787; and William Hughlett took No. 1 in 1790. Poindexter paid £4: for his two lots.

In the S. E. Square, John Randleman took Deed to Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, in 1783; and William Hughlett took No. 1 in 1790.

What other lots were sold, and which of these may have been resold, does not appear, nor is it known how many houses were built, but tradition says there were about twenty houses in the village when the end came. Mr. Speas says that in deep ploughing he turned up a number of piles of stones, mixed with ashes, evidently the remains of fire-places, and that while there were two or three on the south side of Broad Street, most of them were to the north of that line. That there was uncertain-

ty about the title to some of the lots is indicated by a clause in the 1822 Deed of Jesse Kerby to Jacob Conrad, already referred to as covering the N. W. and S. W. Squares, wherein there occurs the sentence: "But if any part of said tract should be lawfully claimed it is reserved to the proper owner." As has been said the Deed from William Sheppard to Edmund Kerby, in 1789 (B), reserved the lots sold to the Commissioners for the Town of Richmond; but the Deed from Jesse Kerby to Jacob Conrad, in 1822, for the same 700 acres, makes no reference to the exception of any lots.

The division of Surry County in 1789, and removal of the Surry County Seat to Rockford, and the building of a Court-House for Stokes County at Germanton, ruined the speculative chances of the owners of property in Richmond; the last recorded sale of a "town lot" being in 1790. About 1822 Jacob Conrad bought up the tract B, the west end of C, beginning at a line extending the east line of B to the Town Fork Road, and a small part of the south end of G. In 1844, at the request of Conrad's heirs, the Jacob Conrad tract, 1200 acres, was sold by Francis Fries, Clerk and Master in Equity, and it was bought by Nathaniel Scales; the Deed is recorded in Forsyth, though by date it belongs in Danbury, Stokes County, and it states that Conrad had bought the land from Kerby, Randleman and Franklin. It also indicates that at that time G belonged to the Randleman family, and K to Isaac Hauser; in 1866 John C. Randleman, Tim Hauser, and Polly Shemel are mentioned in E on north side of Town Fork Road, and Shemel in the east end of C. In 1866, the Estate of Nathaniel Scales was divided into four lots; of these No. 1, which included a strip along the north side of the Bethania Road, and therefore a majority of the house sites, was allotted to Washington Payne, in trust for the six children of his first wife, an exchange investment of certain properties left in trust for her by her grandfather, Joseph Scales. No. 2, also a part of the exchange investment, was allotted to Mrs. Jane Scales and her son Peter Scales, and when Peter died Washington Payne bought this Lot No. 2, which was in two pieces, the larger lying south of the Bethania Road, and including the Court-House site. Anthony L. Payne inherited this Court-House tract, and sold it to Francis E. Speas, its present owner. The record of the Scales division is in Danbury, though by date it belongs in Winston.

The last reference to "Lots in Richmond" occurs in a Deed from Enoch Franklin to Jacob Conrad, in August, 1830. Some time thereafter there came the appropriate and dramatic end of Richmond Town. Not often does an ending so appropriately fit the beginning! Jealousy,

rivalry, and self-seeking at the beginning, accompanied by injustice toward a neighboring land-owner. Fifteen years a County Seat, but of those nine years of War, local as well as national, for there were many Tories along the Yadkin. Later chances for speculation spoiled by the division of the county. A hamlet sinking in character, and in the esteem of neighbors, until current gossip said: "If you want to go to hell you need not go further than Old Richmond." And then a cyclone,—a cyclone so intense that it literally swept the wicked little place off the face of the earth, blowing the Court-House door yards away up the hill, and scattering shingles as far as Danbury and Germanton, if tradition may be believed! And the Town so destroyed was never rebuilt. Donnaha lies at the foot of the hill, but it has no direct connection with the Past, and what was the center of Richmond Town is now a field of wheat, its only residents a pair of partridges, who fled at the approach of visitors and refused to show their home!

THE BAGGE MANUSCRIPT

[The Bagge Manuscript bears the title:

Sketch
Notes on the Events
during the Revolutionary War
which bear
on Wachovia
to the end of 1779.

It is written in Traugott Bagge's well-known script, and while it is not signed his name appears many times in the body of the document.

The Manuscript gives a summary of the events leading up to the War of the Revolution, and many details of the incidents in Wachovia, etc. to the end of 1779. From other sources it appears that Bishop Graff died in that year, and when in 1783 the pastor then stationed in Salem was asked to prepare a Memorabilia of the events of the Revolution he asked Bagge to help him with the part antedating his own coming to Wachovia, and Bagge complied by writing this most valuable Sketch. Because of Bagge's intimate knowledge of all that went on in Wachovia, and in the State and Nation, this Sketch ranks with the Wachovia Diaries and Minute Books as contemporary, first-hand information, and in some respects is the more satisfactory because he wrote it when at least some measure of perspective had been obtained by the passing of years and the close of hostilities.

The following section is a translation of the introductory portion of the Sketch.]

Peace was made, in 1763, between England, France, and Spain, but soon afterwards there began to be misunderstandings between England, or rather Great Britain, and her American Colonies. This showed itself first in complaints that English armed ships were disturbing and restricting the smuggling carried on by New England.

Then the English Parliament passed an Act which required that in all the Colonies, as in England, all papers such as legal documents, wills, contracts of purchase or of rent, etc. must be written on stamped paper,¹ or *Charta Sigillata*, by which means Great Britain would receive

¹ When histories and books of reference speak of "the stamps" to be sold under the Stamp Act the modern mind pictures an equivalent of the Revenue Stamps of the present day. Adhesive stamps, however, were not invented until eighty or ninety years later. The Stamp Act contemplated the collection of the tax through the sale of paper, "stamped,"

an annual income from the Provinces; and when this stamped paper, and the men who were to handle it, arrived from England there was much discontent in all the Provinces, though the feeling was more intense in some than in others. In no Province could the Act be enforced, and Parliament was obliged to repeal it, for everywhere men took the chance of what the result might be, and continued to use unstamped paper for their documents, etc., this also in North Carolina, where the opposition to the Act was not otherwise very great. The repeal of this Act quieted the people; but the Act had put them on their guard, and was the beginning of the controversy as to whether Great Britain had a right to lay tax or duty on the Colonies without their consent, a controversy which ended in the complete separation of the Colonies from the mother country. Great Britain repealed the Stamp Act, but laid a duty on all glass, paints, and tea shipped into the Colonies, and this made the Colonies more indignant than before. In all the Colonies, more or less, men covenanted together to have no trade with Great Britain until the duty was taken off, and many who broke the pledge were tarred and feathered by the mob, although many others knew well how to play a part, receiving goods from England, and, under pretense that they were returning them, sending back the same boxes or bales with another content. In North Carolina there was the least of such an agreement, perhaps one *pro forma* in one or another of the little seaports, but it did not seem to be from the heart. Finally the chief cities in the Colonies became jealous of each other, as in turn they took the lead in contraband trade and attracted the most people, and so the agreement fell to pieces about the end of 1770.

Great Britain, too, saw her mistake, and repealed this Act also, but continued to insist that under all circumstances she had a right to make laws for the Colonies, and to the end this remained the apple of discord.

In the years 1769, 1770 and 1771, there was great unrest in North and South Carolina among the common people. They thought, and sometimes not without reason, that the sheriffs, lawyers and court officers defrauded them, and did not do their duty; and as always and everywhere there were those who stirred up the mob, and added to their anger, so all kinds of base men gathered together in these Provinces, called themselves *Regulators*, and undertook to call the officers of the land to account, and to force them to redress all fancied or real injus-

that is embossed or impressed, to show that it had been bought at a price which included the tax. England still requires the use of similar stamped paper for many legal documents, permitting the affixing of separate stamps to certain specified instruments only.

tice. To this end they formed Committees, before which men whom they suspected were summoned, and at their instigation many were severely whipped. In South Carolina, once, two of our Brethren from Wachovia were in their midst, but suffered no harm. The movement came to an end first in that Province, but in North Carolina it grew more violent and more ill-advised. Regulators came often to Bethabara, and disturbed the residents with threats and abusive words, and the like. Once when the Brethren had received an order from the Government, and sent two wagon-loads of bread to Hillsborough for the Militia who had been assembled there, these men were much displeased. They let this be known on all occasions, and especially during a General Muster of the Militia of Rowan County, held in Bethabara in October, 1770, when Bethabara was in real danger, and experienced special protection from on High. The day after the Muster some of these men raged about in the town, and forced one Brother to leave his house and go with them to the Tavern, where they made him remain for an hour, but then allowed him to depart in peace, and the troublemakers left.

In the spring of 1771 the Brethren in Bethabara received formal notice of a visitation from the so-called Committee, which took place a week later. They came to see about certain pieces of land, adjoining Wachovia, which had been bought by the Brethren after the men who first took them up in Lord Granville's Land Office had, through negligence or poverty, failed to make payment at the right time, or to close the transaction, and so the lands were for sale to any who wished to buy, though they were now claimed by those who had had the first right. The visitation had been much dreaded, but it ended well, for the men were advised to take their claims to court, and there prove their rights, and they finally left in a good humor.

When the Regulators heard that Gov. Tryon, with a considerable body of Militia, was marching into this territory to suppress them they became very angry, although they had no proper organization or officers with which to oppose him. Again Bethabara was protected more than once, for daily they came noisily into the town, especially to the tavern and the store, and generally had to be supplied with food and drink, and their blows and boasting were almost unbearable. Some hundred of them, though without a proper leader, succeeded, in the beginning of May, 1771, in forcing General Wadle and some Militia to abandon a position on the north side of the Yadkin, where he had intended to join Gov. Tryon, and to retreat eleven or twelve miles to the south side. In Mecklenburg County also their associates blew up

two powder wagons. But when from the Yadkin and other places they marched hurriedly against Gov. Tryon he completely defeated them, in May, 1771, on the Allemance, in Guilford County, and those who were not killed or captured took to flight. Many of those who fled came to Bethabara, but quickly left again. Among these was Harman Husbands, their political leader, but he was not recognized, though it was later learned who he was. It was reported to Gov. Tryon that the Brethren had helped this man to escape, as could be seen by the large amount of food which Bethabara had furnished,—but when two of the Brethren waited upon the Governor in his camp and denied the report the matter was dropped. Yet Bethabara had a good deal to endure, for on the 4th of June, quite unexpectedly, a messenger arrived with the word that the Governor and his army were marching to Bethabara, and would camp there. He came at noon, and was lodged in the Fockel (now Oesterlein) house, which had been prepared for him. The army came soon after, and camped between the town and the mill. The chief watch was in the barn. Everybody had enough to do to furnish this crowd of guests with all they needed. The large meadow was used for the horses. This continued from Tuesday till Sunday morning. The third day of their visit they celebrated as a Day of Rejoicing, with a parade, firing of cannon, and salutes, our musicians being called on to assist. One can not thank God enough that the Governor was pleased to maintain good order, and Bethabara received much help and protection when the Evil One had intended harm. Many of the Regulators were brought in as prisoners, others surrendered themselves, and each was forced to swear allegiance to the King before he was released, this taking place under a shed where the day-laborers generally ate. The Brethren waited upon the Governor with an address, to which he responded with kindly words. Through this event many learned to know the Unity of Brethren, and often afterwards this was of service to us, as even the wildest of the men were convinced that we were an orderly people, of worth to the country, and loyal. Many people, who had unwisely mixed themselves in the matter, came to ask that the Brethren intercede for them with the Governor, and they had opportunity to return good for evil. Two Brethren from Wachovia, returning from Charlestown, suddenly found themselves in the midst of the army as it marched toward Bethabara; they were at first rather rudely treated, but when brought before the officer commanding the First Division he was polite, and let them pass unhindered. About the same time the wagons returning from Charlestown, loaded with goods for the Store in Bethabara, were searched by an unorganized group of men,

calling themselves Regulators, just as they crossed from South into North Carolina. The pretext was that the wagons were loaded with powder and lead for the Governor, and some small articles were stolen or injured; however, the Governor had not ordered any ammunition from the Brethren, and there was none to be had in Charlestown, though every effort had been made to secure some for the ordinary trade.

As Rowan County was very large, and many of the inhabitants had to go a long way to Salisbury, where the County Court, General Muster, and other public meetings were held, those especially who lived on the north side of the Yadkin had long desired that a part of Rowan should be erected into a new County, and from 1769 on earnest efforts were made to induce the Assembly to bring this to pass. The Brethren did what they could to help, and in the spring of 1770 presented to their Representatives, that is to the Representatives of Rowan County, a Petition addressed to the Assembly, giving their views as to how the new county might best be laid out, although no one knew whether the Petition would be presented to the Assembly. The Assembly of December, 1770, erected Surry County out of part of Rowan, and the new county was given such boundaries, (surely not out of friendship on the part of those who gave them,) that the northern part of Wachovia fell into Surry and the southern part into Rowan County. The line ran east and west between Salem and Bethabara, not far from the Spangenberg. The Brethren foresaw great inconvenience from this division, for they were one settlement, one people, and the Government had established for them one separate Parish, and now they were divided between the jurisdiction of two courts. So they first appealed privately to Governor Tryon, who promised them his support, and when he was called to become Governor of New York they appealed to his successor, Josiah Martin, Esq. and to the first Assembly which he called, to which the Brn. Utley and Muschbach presented a Petition, asking that Wachovia might be placed in one County, not divided between two. But they secured nothing except a promise that the matter would be adjusted by the next Assembly.

PART III
1772-1775

[In the year 1772 King George III sat upon the throne of England; Louis XV ruled in France, Maria Theresia in Austria, and Catharine in Russia. Frederick the Great was King of Prussia, which in this year united with Austria and Russia to divide Poland.

Josiah Martin was Governor of the Province of North Carolina; and the political troubles between Great Britain and her American Colonies had quieted for the time being.

In Wachovia there were the three Moravian villages of Bethabara, Bethania, and Salem; and Moravian "Societies" centered around the School-Houses of Friedberg and Friedland. A number of farms in Wachovia had been rented to members or friends; and there were out-lying preaching places served with more or less frequency by the Moravian ministers.

With 1772 Salem became the center of the Moravian settlement. Begun in 1766, houses had been built and occupied, so that the Congregation could be formally organized on Nov. 13, 1771; and during 1772 the moving of the trades and professions, and of the church offices, from Bethabara to Salem was completed, Bethabara becoming chiefly a farming community.

At the beginning of 1772 the following held leading positions in Wachovia:—

Frederic William Marshall, North Carolina representative of the Unity of Brethren;

Johann Michael Graff, pastor at Bethabara, and with his wife in charge of the Married People;

Paul Tiersch, preacher at Salem;

Richard Utley, Vorsteher of Salem Congregation, English Minister of Dobbs Parish, and Home Missionary;

George Soelle, Home Missionary; especially interested in Friedland;

Traugott Bagge, merchant;

Jacob Meyer, tavern keeper;

Lorenz Bagge, pfleger of the Single Brethren;

Anna Maria Quest, pflegerin of the Single Sisters;

Johann Jacob Ernst, reader and school-teacher at Bethania;

Ludolph Bachhof, reader and school-teacher at Friedberg;

Jacob Steiner, in charge of the mill below Salem.

Salem having become official head-quarters, the first place will hereafter be given to the Salem records, these being supplemented by the records of the other villages. Unless otherwise stated the translations are from the original Memorabilia, Diaries, Minute-Books, etc.]

*Memorabilia of the Congregations and Societies of the Brethren in
Wachovia, for the Year 1772.*

[Translated in full.]

The message of the Saviour to His little company of Brethren, given in the first Daily Word of this year, was: "Thou hast a little strength, and has kept my word, and hast not denied my name," [Rev. III, 8,] which warned us to be attentive to what the Spirit said unto the Church, that our hearts might be more firmly fixed upon His Sufferings and Death, and that we might increasingly be a people of God, according to His laws and customs. With this desire, and relying on our compassionate High Priest, we encouraged each other with the first Doctrinal Text of the year: "Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation."

At the close of this year we give all honor to the Wounds of Jesus; we thank God that He has lifted us up, so that we, though sinners, may live redeemed through the merits of the holy Incarnation of Jesus, His human life, His bitter sufferings and martyr death, and that we may enjoy the fruits of faith, in a godly life beneath His eyes. And that among us which is not according to His mind, which threatens dishonor to Him and to us, and disgrace to the Congregation, has been made known by His Holy Spirit, and we bow beneath the discipline of His Spirit, and as children of grace will have no fellowship with, nor permit among us, anything that would do us or our children harm, or lead to the ruin of body and soul.

The spirit of Christianity and of Unity has been increased among us by the Word of God, especially the Letters of the Apostles, which have been read publicly, devoutly, and with touched hearts; also by the preaching of the Gospel according to the words of the Saviour, His prophets and Apostles; further, by the deep impression made by the sermons of the Jünger, the man of God, who being dead yet lives and speaks through the words of his witnessing; and also by the sermons sent out by our beloved Brethren of the Unity's Elders Conference; all these have given us courage to believe that we, His poor Brethren in Wachovia, may so live as to give Him joy.

On our Gemein Tagen we have heard, through the Nachrichten, of our Congregations and Pilgrims in all the four corners of the earth, and hearts and eyes have been full, especially as we have listened to the Memoirs of Brethren and Sisters who have gone to their eternal home; to reports concerning the growth in grace in the Diaspora; to news of the successful service of our Brethren among members of other Churches, and of the great work of God among the heathen; and we have heartily thanked the Saviour that He has given spirit and power to the word of witness of our Brethren concerning His Blood and Wounds, so that many heathen have been gathered in as the reward of His sufferings.

Among us the following have entered into their inheritance and rights in God's house and family through Reception:—the Single Brethren, Reinhold Peter Glokmann, on April 20th, and Ludwig Möller, on June 8th;

the Boys, Gottlieb Strehle, on April 20th, Martin Lick, on June 8th; the Older Girls, Elisabeth Dixon, on April 20th, Christine Dixon, Sarah Hauser, and Anna Maria Hege, on June 8th.

In our Congregation and Choir Communion the dear Head of our family made Himself known to us, His poor children, and fed us with His Body and the Blood of His new Testament. Those who for the first time have shared this rich blessing with us, having been previously confirmed thereto, were:—

the Youth, Gottlieb Schober,
the Married Sister, Catharina Stockburger,
the Single Sister, Maria Elisabeth Krause,
and the two Older Girls, Anna Johanna Steip, and Anna Johanna Krause.

Concerning our Choirs in particular.—The Choirs of Boys and of Single Brethren, also the Choir of Single Sisters, celebrated their Choir Festivals in Salem, and the Older Girls in Bethabara; the Festivals of the Children and of the Married People, however, were observed in all three Congregations, with renewed grace and blessing; and each group felt that the Saviour was the special Head and Priest of their Choir, and He permitted them to feel that He desired to dwell among them, to make them true children of God, a people according to His heart.

The Choir sermons of the Jünger, and the Choir Principles set forth by the last General Synod,¹ have been communicated to our Choirs, have been a blessing to them, and have renewed their strength.

As the Saviour has made known His gracious counsel and His thoughts of peace in the inner life of our Congregations, so He has also given us favor with our Government. His Excellency, our Governor, honored our Settlement with a visit, he and his suite attended the services of the Congregation, and looked with satisfaction through the Gemein Haus, the Choir and Family Houses, and we saw with thankfulness that he was glad that the Brethren live in the Province intrusted to him by our gracious King George III, and he expressed the wish that the orderly, praiseworthy, life of the Brethren, their faithfulness, industry, and neatness, might be a pattern to neighbors in the Province.

On account of the long-continued drought last summer all food supplies were short, but we experienced the fatherly care of our dear Lord in all our villages, so that we did not suffer want, our supplies held out, and we were able to assist some who were in need.

Also He has graciously protected us from many a danger and evil, and has sheltered us beneath His wings.

Concerning *Salem*.—The Brethren and Sisters of Bethabara, who were destined for Salem, moved thither from time to time. On April 7th the last Aeltesten Conferenz was held in Bethabara, and made plans for the future conduct of affairs in Salem, and for its directing Boards, according to the instructions of the Saviour, our Chief Elder, made known to us during the Visitation of the Brethren Gregor and Loretz. Following this were the first meetings of the Congregation Council, on April 12th and 26th, which arranged for the Aufseher Collegium and the Grosse Helfer Conferenz. After the Brethren of the Aufseher Collegium had received their Instructions from the Unity's Elders Conference, through Br. Marshall, they acquainted themselves with the condition of the building fund, which had been handled by the Unity Administration, and out of which the cost of building in Salem had been met, by the blessing of the Lord. The Congregation Diaconie having been organized, and the rent for the Salem land for this year being due, they decided to make houses and land productive, so far as possible, and therefore sold some of the family houses to residents of the town, and rented others. For the same reason Br. Reuter was appointed Forester, to care for the forests, and by selling wood to help in raising

¹ The government of the Unitas Fratrum or Moravian Church is of the conferential type, Congregation Councils, Provincial Synods, and a General Synod, meeting at stated intervals. Boards elected by these bodies conduct affairs ad interim.

the rent for the land. As Br. George Holder's farm alone was not enough to supply the town the two Choir Houses started farms and herds for their own use, and the Brn. Daniel Schnepf and Stockburger took charge of farms and cattle, partly for their own support and partly for the assistance of families in town. In spite of the poor crops the Lord blessed their efforts with success.

The principles of a Congregation of Jesus regarding commerce and the professions have been re-read from the Minutes of the last General Synod and from the two letters of the Directing Board in 1765, and we have laid them upon our hearts, and pray the Saviour that He will lay His blessing in all things upon our commerce and professions.

After the status of the Gemein Diaconie had been presented to and discussed by the Grosse Helfer Conferenz it was laid before Congregation Council; and the members were reminded with gratitude that the Lord had helped us so far that we not only dwelt in the houses of peace,² but that we could attend the liturgies and other services in our new Gemein Saal, (services rendered more pleasing and brighter by the new organ), and also that we could enjoy the blessings of a Gemein Ort of the Brethren.

At the same time the service of the Saal Diener was re-organized, and hearty thanks were given to those who had been serving, and we rejoiced that there were many others also whom the Saviour made willing to serve their Congregation in this capacity. This gave an opportunity to have a happy Lovefeast for all the Diener and Musicians, in which they were wished fresh grace and blessing in their work.

Our Brethren and Sisters have willingly contributed according to their means to the collections for the Heathen, for the Children, and for the poor of the Unity; the Congregation Fund has also been renewed, and arrangements made to cover the cost of copying and sending the Gemein Nachrichten, Bethabara and Bethania paying their share of this.

Further building in Salem this year has been as follows.—Br. Reuter's house has been built and occupied; certain farm buildings have been re-arranged; and a number of dwelling houses have been enlarged and improved. That our new mill near Salem is so nearly finished that it can be run, and can supply our town and the neighbors with meal, is a cause for thanksgiving.

The Committees from the three towns have had a conference in Bethabara, and with the help of the Road Master have decided which

² The name *Salem* means peace, and they were living peacefully in the new homes after the previous disturbed years.

roads shall belong to each town; their plan was accepted by the tax payers in a Congregation Council; since then Salem has taken charge of the bridge over Muddy Creek on the road to the Shallow Ford, and has also laid out and opened a new road thither, which is a great convenience to the entire town.

Having made the necessary arrangements for our material welfare we carefully considered wherein the Congregation and the Choirs might be improved so as to give more joy to the Lord Jesus, and the receipt of the Memorabilia of the Unity gave opportunity to discuss these things in our Conferences and in the Congregation, asking ourselves and the Saviour what there might be among us which was not according to His mind, and not in keeping with the character of a people of God; and this was also the subject of the addresses on Sept. 16th, and Nov. 13th, when we acknowledged our shortcomings, and prayed for His forgiveness, and felt His assurance that He would continue to be with us, and would remove from us whatever might hinder our progress on the path of grace.

Concerning our Choirs here in Salem.—The Choir of Married People has been increased by eight couples which moved hither from Bethabara, and by two couples married in Salem, that is the Stockburgers and Ludwig Meinungs, so that this Choir now consists of nineteen couples.

Our only Widower, Br. Enerson, whose quiet and worthy walk among us has made us venerate him as a father, has been transferred to Bethabara, to be cared for there by the Unity Administration.

Our two Widows have felt that the Saviour was their comfort and joy, and He has graciously revealed Himself to them.

The Choir of Single Brethren has been increased by the coming of thirteen Brethren and six Boys from Bethabara, Br. Christian Fritz from Europe, and the Brn. Peter Rose and Andreas Glotz from Bethlehem. On the other hand Br. Muschbach has gone to Bethlehem, and Br. Peterson has again become Vorsteher of the Choir. Two Single Brethren have been married, and are residents of Salem, and one has married in Bethabara and has settled on a farm near that village. Soon after moving to Salem Br. Wurtely had the joy to breathe out his life in the arms of Jesus, and his body is the third to be buried as a corn of wheat in our God's Acre;³ and since then the remains of Br. Klein have been laid beside it, Br. Lorenz [Bagge] having brought

³ *God's Acre* is the usual translation of *Gottes Acker*, but *Acker* also means a field, arable land, and it is evident from numerous phrases such as this that the Brethren thought of their burial places not as an acre of ground, not as a grave-yard, but as God's Field, wherein the bodies of believers are sown awaiting a glorious resurrection,—compare I Cor. XV, 36-44.

them from Little River in November. Br. Christian Pfeiffer, of Bethabara, a member of this Choir, has also been called home by the Saviour. It should be noted that the Doctrinal Instruction of the Boys covered the period of the Reformation, and then the Augsburg Confession was studied, and the doctrine of salvation therein contained was compared with the words of Holy Writ. The Choir of Single Brethren at the close of this year consists of 35 Brethren, 3 Youths, and 5 Boys.

The Choir of Single Sisters remembers with true gratitude the grace of the Saviour, manifested as they moved into and arranged their Choir House. During the year Hanna Leinbach, of Bethania, has come to them; and they have given two Sisters into the Choir of Married People. In the Doctrinal Instruction the Older Girls have studied Bible History of the time of the Patriarchs, and the Theocratic Constitution of the people of God. The Single Sisters' Choir consists of 16 Sisters and 6 Older Girls.

The members of the Children's Choir including 6 little boys and 4 little girls in Salem, have, in their degree, realized that the Saviour is the Friend of the little ones, and we have seen that His heart was with them, especially in their two Festivals, which we celebrated with them, on Nov. 13th, when they shared in the Festival of the Chief Elder and the Anniversary of the Congregation, and particularly in the blessed Christmas Eve service. Their schools have gone well, that for the boys being taught by Br. Tiersch and that for the girls by Sr. Oesterlein. In all there belong to the Salem Children's Choir 9 little boys and 6 little girls.

The Congregation of Salem therefore consists of

- 38 Married People
- 2 Widows
- 43 Single Brethren and Boys
- 22 Single Sisters and Older Girls
- 15 Children

Total 120 Persons.

In *Bethabara*, during the first quarter of the year, the Congregation continued as heretofore, that is until the moving to Salem was completed, when this Congregation was reduced to fifty persons. The change had promised difficulties, especially because of the Oeconomie which was established by the first settlers, and which had lasted with blessing for eighteen years, but all was arranged to the satisfaction not only of those who moved to Salem but also of those who remained in

Bethabara, and we give our thanks to our Father for His grace and help therein.

Besides Br. and Sr. Graff, who have charge of this little Congregation, five Brethren have been appointed as a Committee to oversee the spiritual and the material welfare of Bethabara, and the Saviour has laid His peace and blessing upon their deliberations for the well-being of the village, so that with the approval and help of Congregation Council they have arranged many matters for the good of the Congregation.

Br. Stauber, his wife and four children, have returned to Bethabara from Friedberg. Br. Matthew Stach and his wife, and the Austs with their two children, have arrived from Europe, the Stachs to remain in Bethabara, but the Austs to stay only until they can build on their land. The Single Brother, Johann Schaub, has come from Christiansbrunn [near Nazareth, Pa.] to help his parents in the Tavern. The Widower, Enersen, has moved to Bethabara from Salem.

Br. Frockel's little son was baptised with the name Johann Christian; but Br. Blum's little daughter was still-born.

Besides Br. Christian Pfeiffer the Saviour has called the little Anna Elisabeth Bonn to His eternal joy.

Since Michaelmas Br. and Sr. Stach have taken charge of the schools for the little boys and the little girls, and have conducted them with blessing.

The little Congregation of Bethabara now consists of

24 Married People
1 Widower
1 Widow
8 Single Brethren
3 Boys
3 Single Sisters
1 Older Girl
13 Children

Total 54

Bethania has had much trouble, for the Shauses and their children have moved quite away, and their lot had to be taken back by the Committee of the Congregation; but now Br. Casper Fischer with his wife and four children have come from Bethlehem and have settled on the vacated lot. The Congregation recognizes with thankfulness that the

Saviour has been their leader and has blessed them without and within.
Residents are

36 Married People
2 Widows
1 Single Brother
8 Boys
10 Older Girls
48 Children

Total 105

Of Communicants and Received living outside the town there are

18 Married People
32 Children.

The Society of *Friedberg* has had Communion seven times this year in their School-house. They began with thirteen Communicants, including Br. and Sr. Bachhof, and since then six have been added. The Saviour has let them feel His presence in their Communion Services, and has begun a new work of grace in many other hearts,—may He cleanse and sanctify them!

In *Friedland*, during this year, services have been held by several Brethren in a dwelling house, until their new School-house can be finished. Again several families, with their children, have come from Broadbay.

Four families, containing nineteen persons, came this year from Carolls Manor [Md.] to Bethabara, but have now settled west of Salem, near Douthit, which looks as though there might be a small English settlement of Brethren in Wachovia. Counting these families 70 persons have come this year to live in Wachovia.

Br. Soelle, in carrying out his plan for preaching in the regions of North Carolina around Wachovia, has proclaimed the Gospel on Abbots Creek, on the Hughwarren, in Guilford County, on Belew's Creek, on the Town Fork, on this side of and beyond the Atkin, in Fox Snap, and in the Mulberry Fields; and has baptised some 54 children. He has made two visits to Virginia. On his last trip he left here Oct. 17th, preached on the 18th on the Town Fork, and on the 19th in Mr. Vernon's house on the Meho, where he found that his hearers lost their mistaken ideas concerning the Brethren when they heard him proclaim the Gospel of the suffering and death of Jesus. On the 23rd he reached the house of Mr. Harris, who had come home the preceding night from

his preaching round to attend a General Meeting of his people, who are Baptists. The Minister insisted that Br. Soelle should hold the first service, and he proclaimed the Gospel to a large number of men and women who were deeply moved.

The number of adult Brethren and Sisters in our three towns is 203, and of children there are 76.

Of communicants, including the members living outside Bethania and Friedberg, there are 182.

Diary of Salem Congregation, 1772.

[The record for the months of January, April, and August is translated in full to show the order of Church services in different seasons of the year; in other months the religious services are omitted, except on special occasions, though the Diary gives them all day by day.]

Jan. 1. In entering the New Year the first general gathering was held at 10 A.M. and was opened with the singing of the hymn

Nun lasst uns gehen und treten,⁴

then Br. Tiersch preached to a large congregation on the Gospel of the holy name, Jesus, and the Circumcision of our Immanuel, made manifest in the flesh. The earnest and heartfelt wish was expressed that the hearers might find the new year a true year of grace, in which the Friend of their souls might be made known to them as their crucified Saviour, their Redeemer from sin, that He might be glorified in their eternal salvation. In the second service the Memorabilia of the Congregations at Herrnhut, Niesky, and in Silesia, were read. In the afternoon first the Children, then the Married People, and lastly the Single Brethren, prostrated themselves before our God, made manifest in the flesh, thanking Him with humble hearts for all His wounds, His sufferings and stripes; the addresses were on the Doctrinal Text for the day:—"Behold now is the accepted time, behold now is the day of Salvation." The Lord was truly in our midst, especially in the second and third Choir meetings, and let the Married People and the Brethren feel that His heart is with us, and therefore we trust that in the new year we will enjoy much grace and blessing in the Choirs. In the evening service at 7 o'clock we sang the Liturgy "Unschuldiges Gottes Lamm"; then there was an address on the first Daily Word, [Rev. III, 8.] which discussed the character of the Church at Phila-

⁴ Many of the hymns and liturgies once used in Wachovia have never been translated, so in the extracts for this year the initial lines given in the Diary are copied in German.



SALEM GEMEIN HAUS, CONSECRATED NOVEMBER 13, 1771

delphia,—1) that it was a *little* Church, and yet it had a *strength* in spirit and life, in spite of all poverty and imperfection; 2) that it had kept the word of His sufferings; and 3) that it had not denied His Name, SAVIOUR.

Jan. 2. Br. and Sr. Graff rejoiced us with their visit, during which they visited and spoke with each family. The two recently married couples, the Herbsts and Charles Holders, came with them, and took possession of their new dwellings. Br. Marshall, who spent the night with us, held the evening service, and read an impressive sermon of the Jünger. The Single Brother Johann Stotz and the Boy Gottlieb Strehle moved today from Bethabara into their Choir House here; the first will assist Br. Priem in the kitchen, and Strehle will learn the smith profession under Br. George Schmidt.

Jan. 3. Our devotions were with the Liturgy "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden."

Jan. 5. We anticipated the Mission Day,⁵ and read the Nachrichten concerning Cairo and Labrador. In the evening we read of the first heathen from the East, spoke on the Daily Word, and announced the Mission Collection, then in an earnest prayer commended to the Saviour the entire work of God among the heathen.

Jan. 7. The gifts for Missions were collected by Br. Toego Nissen.

Jan. 12. Br. Marshall prayed the Litany with the Congregation, especially remembering the Boys, who in this manner made a blessed beginning with their Festival. At 10 o'clock two Children from Bethabara, Martin Lück and Wagemann, were received into the Choir of Boys, and the three Boys, George Bibighaus, Gottlieb Schober and George Hauser, became Youths. After preaching, the classes of Boys and Youths met with the Ministers. At their afternoon Lovefeast the Psalm⁶ of 1767 was sung, and the Memorabilia⁷ noted that of the 20 Boys and Youths five live in Salem, seven in Bethabara, and eight in Bethania. The Boy, Martin Schneider, will remain in Salem, and learn the shoe-maker's profession in his Choir House.

Jan. 13. Br. and Sr. Bagge moved from Bethabara into the store here. In addition to their daughter, Elisabeth, they brought Sr. Bish-

⁵ Epiphany, January 6th, was observed as a Mission Day, in memory of the coming to Bethlehem in Judea of the first representatives of the Gentile world.

⁶ The Lovefeast Psalm or Ode was a series of appropriate hymns, selected for the occasion, and many are filed in the Salem Archives. Those of early years are in manuscript, generally varying each year and for each occasion. Later Odes were printed for stated anniversaries, and served for a number of years unchanged.

⁷ The Choir Memorabilia noted the chief events of the Choir year, that is the twelve months between the anniversary days of a Choir, just as the general Memorabilia summed up the congregational history of each year, from January to December.

off, who will live with them, as will also Br. Christian Heckewälder and George Bibighaus.

Jan. 14. The Boy, Martin Lück, moved today into his Choir House, to learn the profession of a joiner.

Jan. 15. The Bible Reading was blessed to us.

Jan. 16. Br. Lorenz sang a Liturgy with the Communicants.

Jan. 17. We were glad to see Br. and Sr. Graff, who passed through on their way to Friedland to speak with the members there and hold Communion for them.

Jan. 19. In the afternoon the Married People were informed that Visiting would be begun again, and the Brn. and Srs. Bagge and George Holder were appointed Visitors.

Jan. 21. In the meeting of Communicants Br. Marshall spoke on the Daily Word, making a deep impression; he also announced that the Lord's Supper would be celebrated on the coming Sabbath, and the Communicants will be spoken with during the intervening days.

Jan. 22. There was Bible Reading, from the Harmony of the Gospels.

Jan. 23. There was an address to the Communicants on the Text for the day; "If any man be in Christ he is a new creature," laying it upon their hearts as a gracious promise; then a Liturgy was sung, with prayer to our dear Father.

Jan. 24. Our choir of Musicians played here for the first time, accompanying the singing of the "Haupt voll Blut und Wunden."

Jan. 25. At six o'clock the Communicants assembled for their Love-feast, during which the Memoir of Br. Christoph Wagner was read. His childlike and intimate intercourse with the Saviour was pointed out as being the true character for a worthy Communicant, and with humble hearts we prayed to the Saviour:

Ach Hüter, mach uns auch so schön! etc.

With the great desire that they might be one with Him in body and in spirit through His sacramental enfolding, the Communicants presented themselves at eight o'clock before their merciful High Priest, asked absolution for all that had not been according to His will, and then shared in the Holy Sacrament of His Body and Blood; and after this inexpressable privilege they tenderly sang:

Gemeine, liebe dich
durchgängig inniglich, etc.

and bound themselves together before the Saviour with the Kiss of love.

Jan. 26. In the morning at nine o'clock the officials and our sick Br. Enerson received their share of the Sacrament, which made the total number of Communicants to be 49. Then followed the Communion Liturgy, with our faith expressed in:

Ich bin ein Glied an seine Leib, etc.

Lasst euch ein Haupt sein Glied? etc.

Nein, ach nein, Er lasst mich nicht, etc.

At ten o'clock the preaching was on Ps. LXXXVI, 17, "Show me a token for good, that it may go well with me." In Friedland Br. Soelle held public service.

Jan. 28. In the Aeltesten Conferenz it was decided that as many of the Single Brethren and Boys destined for Salem as could be spared from Bethabara should now move hither. Br. Marshall held the evening service for Communicants, speaking on the Daily Word and the character of a people of God, to whom the Saviour made Himself known and who *therefore* are blessed, but that on the contrary, without His presence, danger and a curse are to be expected; and he closed with the Liturgy: "Jesus Christus blick dich an," etc.

The Singstunde and evening prayer for all closed this day with a blessed sense of His nearness.

Jan. 29. It stormed and snowed so hard that the evening services could not be held.

Jan. 30. The snow last night fell over a foot deep. Br. Lorenz held a Liturgy with the Communicants.

Jan. 31. Br. Tiersch held Doctrinal Instruction for the Boys, taking the Old Testament promises concerning the Saviour up to the time of Noah. Then the Congregation sang the Liturgy "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden."

Feb. 2. In the Litany we remembered the widowed Choirs, and again commended them to the Saviour for His Blessing. The preaching was on the Gospel for the day; and in the afternoon accounts of the work of our Brethren among the Free Negroes of Surinam were read from the Nachrichten.

Feb. 4. In the Conference at Bethabara it was decided to contract with Br. Bulitschek for a new organ, to cost £32: Proclamation money. It is to be used in our Gemein Saal. Br. Schnepf is to take charge of the small farm by the old kitchen. Eight were selected from among the Single Brethren and Boys who shall at once move to Salem. The snow continues to lie, and the cold is greater than usual here.

Feb. 5. Today the following moved from Bethabara into the Choir House here,—the Brn. Zillmann, Nilson and Johann Müller, and the Boys, Sam Stotz and Andreas Kremser. On the 6th the Brn. Koffler and Göpfert came; followed on the 10th by Br. Jeremiah Schaaf.

Feb. 12. The great needs of Salem received special help today when, quite unexpectedly, three Dunkards came and asked to buy 1000 acres of land in Wachovia; which was promised them when they had seen it.

Feb. 13. The Brn. Marshall, Utley, Muschbach, and Tiersch went today to Friedland, where the new School-house is to be built. In the afternoon Br. Marshall ran the lines for them with the compass, and then, on the very spot where Br. Gregor drove the first stake, the first sill was laid; then all the men, women and children gathered within the four sills, and Br. Tiersch sang:

Herr Jesu, auserwehltes Haupt, etc.

and spoke on the Text for the day: "The God of our Lord Jesus Christ enlighten the eyes of your understanding, that ye may know what is the hope of His calling," etc. pointing out that God, crucified for us, revealed Himself to the hearts of poor, lost sinners who turned to Him and sought and found forgiveness for their sins, then he declared that this place and this house should belong to the kingdom of God, and that the powers of darkness, of the world, of evil and of folly, should be kept far from it; that it should be consecrated to the Saviour, for the proclaiming of the Gospel, for the knowledge of His salvation, for the enjoyment of that grace and blessing which He would give to those assembled here in His name. After singing:

Was liebtest du? Sünder, etc.

Br. Tiersch offered an earnest prayer to the Saviour that He would fill all present, and especially the children, with the wisdom of His grace for the salvation of their souls, * * * and that they might always remember why this house had been built, and why the Gospel should here be proclaimed. In conclusion another hymn was sung:

Der Grund da wirs Haus gründen
ist Christus und sein Blut,
in seinem Namen verbinden
zu seh'n was Jesus thut, etc.

Sr. Krause came from Bethabara to Salem, and remained for some days to arrange certain matters for the future house-keeping of the Single Sisters, and to speak with Sr. Christmann.

Feb. 14. In the evening service we remembered the word of the Lord, which seven years ago He gave for Salem, thanked Him for His grace which has kept the promise and has led us thus far, and prayed that He would lift up His countenance upon us, that our houses and streets might be filled with His peace, and that He here might have a Gemein Ort which trusted beneath the shadow of His wings, enjoyed His grace, and brought honor to His name.

Feb. 16. The Brn. Herbst and Präzel were in Bethabara today, where a Vorsteher Conferenz was held, and together with the Vorsteher of Bethabara and Bethania they divided the musical instruments and other things, deciding what should be brought to Salem for use in the Saal and at Lovefeasts.

Feb. 17. Br. and Sr. Jacob Meyer came from Bethabara to take charge of the new Tavern here. With them came their two children, Maria Magdalene and Philip Jacob, and Sr. Dixon, also their old negress and her children.

Feb. 18. Br. and Sr. Graff came from Bethabara, and spoke with the Married People preparatory to the Communion. He held the evening Liturgy, and mentioned the betrothal of Br. Stockburger to the Single Sister Catharine Christmann.

Feb. 19. Br. Valentine [Beck] and his wife moved to Salem. Br. Peter Christ, who works with him, moved into his Choir House.

Feb. 24. The four Single Sisters, Anna Maria Krause, Anna Rosina Boeckel, [Maria Elisabeth] Kraus, Elisabeth Everit, and the two Girls, Anna Johanna Steip and [Magdalena] Lück, came from Bethabara, and settled themselves on the first floor of the Gemein Haus, at the south end, where the Single Sisters are to live. As soon as they were located they began to dig their garden, so that it might be ready for planting. With the wagon which brought their things came a large chest of Gemein Nachrichten for the Archives, which will now be kept in the Gemein Haus.

March 1. The Litany was prayed, and then there was preaching on the text, "Behold, we go up to Jerusalem," which made a blessed beginning of the Passion season. At three o'clock the Communicants and Received assembled, and in their presence Br. Johann George Stockburger was married to Sr. Catharine Christmann. First the choir sang the wedding Doxology, and then the blessing of the Church was laid upon this pair, uniting them in holy wedlock. May the Lord remember in grace this first wedding in Salem! In the evening the story was read of the founding of the Unity of Brethren on this day [1457].

March 4. Br. and Sr. Reuter moved to Salem today.

March 10. The Aeltesten Conferenz discussed the Petition we will send, asking that Dobbs Parish may not be divided; and also considered whether we should incorporate Salem or Wachovia. The question of Br. Miksch's support was considered, and at his request permission was given him to open a small shop.

March 16. The road from Salem to the Shallow Ford was laid out and opened.

March 17. Br. Marshall read to the Conferenz a draft of the Petition to the Governor and Assembly, asking that our Parish might remain undivided, and might belong entirely to one county, either to Rowan or to Surry.

March 20. A heavy wind blew down a new wood-shed, and it was a mercy that no one was near by. The six Sisters above mentioned, also Sr. Bonn, returned today to Bethabara, after having been here for some days working in their gardens.

March 23. Br. Stockburger and his wife today took charge of some of the fields and meadows in and near Salem.

March 25. At one o'clock the Congregation assembled. First was sung:

O Verehrungswürdige Minute,
Tag den sonst kein Tag nicht gleich, etc.

and then there was an address on the Daily Word, concerning the Incarnation of the Saviour.

March 26. Br. Marshall came to us, and consulted with Brn. Utley and Reuter as to the Contract to be made tomorrow with Br. Stockburger; two copies shall be signed, one for each party.

March 28. Br. Utley went to the Yatkin today, and tomorrow will preach in MacKnight's house, and visit the families of his auditors.

March 29. Br. Tiersch preached in Friedland, holding service for the children and also for the house-fathers and house-mothers. Br. Lorenz held the usual services in Salem.

March 30. The Single Sisters, Anna Maria Kraus, Rosina Boeckle, Elisabeth Everit, Christina Jorde, and Anna Johanna Steip moved today into the Gemein Haus.

March 31. Br. Würtele moved today into the Brothers' House; and little John Dixon went to Br. and Sr. Herbst.

April 1. There was Bible Reading.

April 2. Br. Lorenz held the Liturgy for the Communicants.

April 3. Br. Utley led the Liturgy: "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden."

April 5. It was Gemein Tag, and accounts of the work in Greenland were read from the Nachrichten. In the evening service Br. Tiersch spoke on the Daily Word. * * *

April 7. In the Conferenz in Bethabara it was decided that as Br. and Sr. Marshall, and the rest of the Single Sisters, were now moving to Salem the Aeltesten Conferenz should meet in Salem next Tuesday, Br. and Sr. Graff coming from Bethabara. In the evening the Communicants listened to a letter from a Brother in Herrnhut concerning the Memorabilia of the Unity's Elders Conference for 1770.

April 8. Bible Reading was from the Harmony, as far as ¶53.

April 9. Br. and Sr. Marshall moved to Salem; as did also the following Single Sisters:— Elisabeth Oesterlein, Maria Magdalena Höpfner, Dorothy Schütz, Marie Magdalena Strub and Magdalena Lück; and Hannah Leinbach, from Bethania, came to Br. and Sr. George Schmid. In the evening Br. Tiersch returned from Friedberg, where he had held a service for the Society, and after it had baptised two children of our members living there. In the Liturgy for Communicants the Saviour let us feel His gracious presence, and blessed us anew as poor sinners trusting in His Atonement. In the Singstunde some reports were read from the Wochen; and the day closed with the evening blessing.

April 10. The Sisters Anna Maria Quest, Anna Münster, Magdalena Blar, Salome Meurer, Johanna Elisabeth Colver, Anna Elisabeth Werner, and Maria Schneider moved from Bethabara into the part of the Gemein Haus which is to serve as their Choir House. With them came the four Girls, Maria Enerson, Christiana and Elisabeth Dixon, and Catharine Sehner, to live in the Choir House; and Sr. Maria Elisabeth Engel, and the three Girls, Maria Hirt, Anna Johanna Graff, and Anna Johanna Kraus, to attend the consecration of the Choir House.

At six o'clock in the evening the Lovefeast was held in their little Saal, at which the members of the Aeltesten Conferenz and the Brn. Bagge and Meyer were also present. First was sung:

Der, du den elende Magde dein, etc.;

and with the verse

Hier siehest du ein Jungfrau Chor, etc.

the Sisters knelt, and Br. Tiersch prayed that the Saviour would consecrate this prayer-hall as His own property, and make these poor sinners to be His maidens, and that so often as they here appeared before Him to seek His grace, He would let them feel His presence, His blessing and His comfort. Hearts and eyes overflowed, and the Saviour let it be felt that He was in our midst. During the Lovefeast Br. Marshall announced that Br. Meyer, who was present, had been appointed by the Saviour as the Curator⁸ of the Choir, and several verses of blessing were sung for him, and he was commended to the grace and help of the Saviour. At the close of the Lovefeast the singers rendered a Psalm, appropriate to the Daily Word and Text for the day and to the consecration of the Choir House and prayer-hall. After Br. Marshall had made an address to the Sisters they united with the Congregation in singing: "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden"; and at its close their sleeping-hall was consecrated, Br. Marshall leading the Liturgy.

[*Marshall's report to U. E. C., Aug. 31, 1769.* As a Gemein Haus has two entrances we saw the possibility of using half of the house for the Single Sisters, and the other half for the ministers and their wives. The Sisters can have their sleeping-hall under the roof and the two families will be as separate as though they were in two houses; the yards also can be separate. We at first thought of arranging the two-story house for the Sisters, at least for a few years, but the people of this land are rude, and if the Sisters were placed where strangers came to trade they would be exposed to insolence by day and night. To be in the same house with the minister and his wife gives them protection.]

April 11. Br. Merckly moved from Bethabara into his Choir House here, where he will have charge of the Bakery. In the evening we began to read the story of Christ's Sufferings, and hymns were sung referring to His bitter Passion.

April 12. Sunday. Br. Marshall prayed the Church Litany with the Congregation. Br. Tiersch preached on the Epistle for the day,—Phil. II, "He humbled himself." In the afternoon, from the 1st Beylage, 1771, we read the Memoirs of Br. Böttger and Sr. Chr. Hauff. At two o'clock there was a Congregation Council of all adult Communicants, in which Br. Marshall called for the election of an Aufseher Collegium. The four Brethren, Traugott Bagge, as Chairman of the Collegium, Br. Meyer, as Curator of the Single Sisters, Br. Utley as Gemein Vorsteher,

⁸ The Curator advised the Sisters in business matters, and represented them in the Aufseher Collegium, which handled the financial and general material interests of the congregation. The Pflegerin and Vorsteherin of the Single Sisters were ex officio members of the Aeltesten Conferenz, or Board of Elders, attending the meetings of that Board in person when matters were to be discussed which affected the women of the congregation.

and Br. Muschbach, as Vorsteher of the Single Brethren, were announced as ex-officio members of the Collegium, and the Council was told that the Saviour had approved⁹ that one married and two single Brethren should be elected; and that all the Brethren should consider before the Lord whom they thought best suited for this office. In the evening at seven o'clock the Council met again, and Br. Peterson collected the votes of the Brethren at the door as they entered, and brought the votes to the table, Br. Marshall opened them and read them to the Council, Br. Tiersch recorded and read them, and it appeared that the Brn. Herbst, Merkly and Petersen had received the largest number of votes. The seven Brethren of the Aufseher Collegium were then blessed by the Congregation for their important office, and for them was sung:

Wahlest diese Diener selber, etc.

Lass ihrem Herzen wohl seyn, etc.

The Saviour permitted His presence and the grace of God to be felt in this transaction, and the harmony and unanimity which prevailed promised well for the future.

This afternoon at six o'clock Br. Würtely passed away in the arms of Jesus, which was announced to the Congregation at eight o'clock; and in the same meeting today's portion of the Passion story was read, interspersed with the singing of Chorales, which was continued on the following days.

April 13. In the afternoon the Aufseher Collegium had its first session, at which Br. Marshall delivered their instructions to the whole Collegium, and especially to the Curator, and so installed them in office. Then two of the members undertook to open a straight path from the Gemein Haus to God's Acre, and have it put in order. In the evening the reading of the Passion story was continued.

April 14. Br. and Sr. Graff came to Conferenz, which met in the afternoon from one to three o'clock, arranged for the Easter Services, and regulated Diener matters. Today Br. Bonn, his wife, and their little Jacob, also Joseph Dixon, and Br. Ludwig Meinung, moved to Salem. In the morning at ten o'clock there was the funeral of Br. Johann Würtely, in which, after an address by Br. Tiersch on the Daily Word, his Memoir was read, and a poem which had been composed by Br. Soelle on his home-going. Then, with the usual Liturgy, his body was accompanied to its last resting place, and lowered into the earth. In the evening the reading was continued.

⁹ Through the lot. The Diarist almost never refers to the means used to ascertain the Lord's will, but merely states that direction was given by the Saviour.

April 15. The Aufseher Collegium was in session all morning. In the afternoon there was a conference of Diener, in which Br. Präzel was made head Diener, his assistants being the Brn. Koffler, Aust, Spieseke, Valentine Beck, and Miksch, and the Srs. Reuter, Aust, Beck, Herbst, and Anna Münster. They will serve in the Saal a week at a time, turn about, and especially assist at Lovefeasts. We all rejoiced to see how willing the Brethren and Sisters were to serve as best they could. Many things concerning the management of the Saal were also discussed and decided. In the evening the reading was continued.

April 16. In the afternoon, at a meeting for the entire congregation, the account of Thursday was read and sung. Then the sacrament of the Pedilavium was celebrated, first by the Communicant Sisters, and then at five o'clock by the Communicant Brethren. The Sisters were served by Srs. Tiersch, Reuter, Bonn, Beck, Herbst, Steiner, A. Münster, and Magd. Blar; the Brethren by Brn. Bagge, Muschbach, Petersen, Herbst, Meyer, Beck, Bonn, Merkly, Koffler, Priem, Steiner, and Toego Nissen. At eight o'clock the story of our Lord's agony on the Mount of Olives was read and sung, with tender hearts. At nine o'clock the Communicants partook of the Lord's Supper, in remembrance of that night in which He was betrayed, and He blessed the poor sinners, 86 in number, who shared His Body and Blood.

April 17. On Good Friday, at half past eight, five Brethren and Sisters had the Post-Communion, and the Srs. Rahel [Bagge] and Bishoff received the Communion for the sick. At nine o'clock the story of the trial of the Saviour was read; at ten, the account of the Crucifixion; in the afternoon at two the story of His Death, at three the piercing of His side, and in the twilight the account of His burial was read. Truly words cannot tell how the Holy Spirit made this simple story alive to our hearts, so touching, that our tears accompanied the Passion Liturgy and as we sang:

Für mich! Für mich!

Ihn in tausandfachen Dank, etc.

We closed this Good Friday with the Liturgy, "Mein Leiche Jesu."

April 18. At two o'clock in the afternoon of Great Sabbath the entire Congregation, including the children, met in the Sabbath Lovefeast, when the Festal Ode¹⁰ was sung and played. In the evening at eight was a solemn evening prayer in each Choir. Br. Marshall held the service for the Married People.

¹⁰ Filed with the Diary.

April 19. In the morning at five o'clock we prayed the Easter Litany in the Saal, as the dark, rainy weather made it impossible to visit the sleeping-place of our three Brethren who have gone home; and we asked that we might have everlasting fellowship with them, and with all members of the Brethren's Church who have gone home since the last Easter Day. At nine o'clock the story of the Resurrection was read; and at one in the afternoon the account of the forty days after Easter. At ten in the morning there was preaching on I Cor. XV, 1-10,—that Christ died, was buried, and rose again, according to the Scriptures; at half past twelve was the Children's Hour. In the evening at eight we read a sermon by Br. Johannes [von Watterville] on the text: "Woman, why weepest thou?" At seven the Aeltesten Conferenz met to plan for the Gemein Tag tomorrow.

April 20. At six in the morning, in the Brothers House, there was a Lovefeast for the musicians, and those appointed to care for the sick. At half past eight the Gemein Tag was begun by singing the Liturgy:

"Tritt her, O Gemein,
vors heilige Dreyein!"

then Nachrichten were read in three sessions. In the afternoon was Parish meeting, in which the Petition for the confirmation of our Parish Act was read and approved. The Meeting elected as Vestrymen, Herbst, George Holder, Steiner, Merkley, Präzel, Traugott Bagge, Reuter, and re-elected Muschbach, Meyer, Künzel, Gröhn¹¹ and Pfaff. These twelve elected the Brn. Muschbach and Reuter as Church Wardens. Another meeting was held at three, so that those from out of town might attend. First an Ode¹² was sung, with instrumental accompaniment; then Br. Tiersch spoke on the Daily Word: "Like as a father pitieth his children." * * * Then, with the usual Litany, the Single Brother Friedrich Reinhold Glockmann, the Boy, Gottlieb Strehle, and the Girl, Elisabeth Dixon, were received into the Congregation with the Kiss of Peace; and the Congregation knelt and prayed God's blessing for itself and the three just received, for His entire Brethren's Unity, * * *. After this service the Communicants and Received sang the Liturgy: "Unschuldiges Gottes Lamm."

April 21. There was Aeltesten Conferenz, Br. Graff being present. In the evening there was reading from the Wochen.

April 22. There was Bible Reading. The big bell was rung for the first time.

¹¹ Also spelled Grün, Kröhn, Krön, Kreen, and finally Green.

¹² Given in full in the Diary.

April 23. Br. Lorenz led the Liturgy for the Communicants.

April 24. Br. Tiersch led the Liturgy, "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden."

April 25. Br. Marshall read a sermon of the Jünger, from the Wochen. Br. Bagge left with the wagon for Charlestown. For fourteen days the Aufseher Collegium has been considering, with great assiduity, the condition of the financial affairs of Salem Congregation, its debts and its property, planning so that from the start the two might be brought into accord. Br. Miksch has been permitted to use the Square in front of the Gemein Haus for his support. Suggestions concerning work and wages were also prepared, to be submitted to the Grosse Helfer Conferenz and the Congregation Council.

[*Marshall's Report to U. E. C., April 25, 1772.* The last session of the Assembly did not grant our Petition that the whole of Wachovia might be in Surry County, nor the Petition of Surry County that it might be enlarged. Therefore Bethabara and Bethania are in Surry County, and in St. Jude's Parish; but Salem and the lower part of Wachovia are in Rowan County and hold the rights of the Parish of Dobbs. Surry County plans to send another Petition to the next Assembly, and we will do the same, following the advice of various friends, among them Chief Judge Henderson, who was in Bethabara on March 19th.

Our bell for Salem, which we had cast in Bethlehem, arrived at last during the Passion Week, and immediately after Easter it was set up near the Gemein Haus. It weighs 275 lbs. and can be heard from one end of town to the other. In Bethabara it was my duty to strike the hours, and I shall do it here part of the time.

In general our situation is as usual, that is to say many of our neighbors are bitter against us, partly because we are a godly people, partly because of our outward prosperity, but so far it has more annoyed than injured us. In some measure this is a remainder from the Regulator period, of which the spirit persists though it is nowhere in control.]

April 26. The Church Litany was prayed, and made so deep an impression on the Congregation that it was decided not to have it a public service, which might be attended by strangers who really did not appreciate it, but that in future it should be only for the Congregation and others who asked for and received permission to attend. At ten o'clock there was public preaching. In the afternoon the Jünger's Sermon to the Received was read, the three who have recently been received sitting on the front bench, and with them Johann Samuel,

who has been baptised within the year; after this they had Lovefeast in their Choir House. In the afternoon at two o'clock, and at seven, there was Congregation Council, in which the following were elected members of the Grosse Helfer Conferenz: the Brn. Reuter, Aust, Koffler, Schaaf, Walther, and Priem, and the Srs. Aust, Meyer, and Bonn; ex officio members are the members of the Aeltesten Conferenz and the Aufseher Collegium, Br. Bonn as Community Doctor, Br. Soelle [Home Missionary], Br. Präzel and Sr. Reuter as head Saal Dieners, and Sr. Bishoff.

April 27. The Grosse Helfer Conferenz met at eight o'clock in the morning, and agreed to meet at this hour each Monday. Br. Marshall set before them the purpose of this Conferenz,—that it should have a watchful eye on the Congregation, seeing all that happened, all that would increase the well-being of the Congregation and the Choirs, or all that might hinder it. The members were urged to bring into the Conferenz of their own accord anything that required consideration, matters that needed the decision of the Lord would then be referred to the Aeltesten Conferenz, and other important matters to the Congregation Council. The first question considered was the order of Church Services, that they might conform to those usual in a Gemein Ort; it was also agreed that there should be one public preaching in English in Salem each month. The bell which has been hung near the Gemein Saal was ordered rung at 7 A.M. and 11:30 A.M. and at 7 P.M.; the twilight service is to be at 7:30, and the Singstunde at 9 P.M.

May 3. The Single Sisters, including those from Bethabara, closed their Choir year in a repentant and blessed state of mind.

May 4. After morning prayers Br. and Sr. Graff came from Bethabara, and at 10 o'clock Br. Graff held the Reception for the Single Sisters, his daughter, Anna Johanna, being received into the Single Sisters Choir. The entire Grosse Helfer Conferenz partook of the Festal Lovefeast with the Single Sisters; during the service a report of the Choir was read. * * * In Salem there live 17 Single Sisters and 6 Girls; in Bethabara 3 Single Sisters and 1 Girl; total 27. Then a Festal Psalm was sung. At 4 o'clock Br. Marshall made an address to the Choir. In the evening service a sermon of the Jünger was read, which he had preached in 1754, on what a young woman should be according to the Scriptures and the Early Church. Br. Graff conducted the Singstunde, and commended the Single Sisters to the Congregation for its blessing; and after 9 o'clock the Sisters closed their Festal Day with a Choir Communion.

May 6. Br. Soelle has reported concerning his trip to the Hugh Warren¹³ as follows.— He had been there from April 3rd to 8th, and had preached to the Baptists, had heard their minister, Mr. Davis, preach, and had attended the baptism of four adults,—the minister had borne a good witness to the Saviour, and had told his hearers that it helped nothing to belong to this or the other persuasion, to be *plunged, dipped, or sprinkled*,¹⁴ but the blood of Christ must be their righteousness. There was a young man who was drunk, and who lightly said to Br. Soelle and a Baptist that they should make him contrite and repentant; Br. Soelle made no answer, but the Baptist told him he had better not joke, or the Lord would lay His hand heavily upon him, and just then the man was suddenly attacked with cramps, and had to be taken to bed, and suffered much pain until the following day. Br. Soelle also preached the Gospel to a large English congregation in Mr. Kimborough's house; they offered to elect him their Pastor, and to give him \$100.00, asking him to try them for a year, but he declared to them that he was a free servant of Christ,¹⁵ and might no longer tie himself to one congregation.

On Good Friday, April 17th, Br. Soelle was in Friedland, and held service for the company there; then he visited Ulrich Richards on his way to Hugh Warren, where he preached in English and in German on Easter Day.

May 8. The Sisters have requested their own sick-visiting, and five Sisters have been found willing to serve; therefore Sr. Bonn has again been offered and has undertaken the office¹⁶ for which she was destined when she was married. Sr. Aust is general sick-nurse, and the Srs. Reuter, Tiersch, Utley, Beck, Herbst, and Schnepf, will in turn visit the sick for a week.

May 10. At three in the afternoon there was Lovefeast for the Diener and musicians, 36 being present.

May 12. Was the anniversary of the renewal of the Unity of Brethren in Herrnhut [1727], and an account of the celebration in Herrnhut in the year 1760 was read.

May 15. Br. Bachhof sent us word from Friedberg that the Brethren there had been summoned to Muster, and that the Captain would recognize only Communicants as free, the others must pay a fine; on the request of a Communicant Brother the Captain has agreed to make

¹³ The Uharie.

¹⁴ The three words are in English in the Diary.

¹⁵ "Ein freier Knecht Christi."

¹⁶ Midwife.

the fine only one shilling, and the aforesaid Brother, George Hartman, will collect the fines and take them to the Captain.

May 18. The Grosse Helfer Conferenz considered the question of visitors to the town, and that the Brn. Marshall, Bonn and Bagge have had to see them; it was decided to ask Br. Reuter to accept the office of Fremden Diener, and to take charge of all visitors. In the Brothers House either Br. Muschbach, Koffler, Präzel, or Spiesike, whichever happens to be nearest, shall take charge of visitors. Strangers must not visit in the Single Sisters House without permission asked and given and a definite time set.

May 19. Br. Bagge returned from Charlestown, to our great delight.

May 24. Br. Tiersch held Doctrinal Day for the Single Brethren, making an address on the text "Ye are bought with a price," and speaking of the Principles of their Choir. * * *

May 25. Br. Fritz arrived from Europe. [*Marshall's report.* This time Br. Bagge could only get four wagons for his trip to Charlestown, on account of the great lack of food, because of which many animals have died, or have become unfit for work. In Charlestown he met the long-expected Br. Fritz, who for lack of opportunity to come hither had been detained there for some time, and had been working at his profession, and had established a good reputation. A certain gentleman of means, who was returning from London, learned to know him on board ship, and Fritz has since visited him several times; and on the journey hither the gentleman insisted that Br. Fritz must spend the night with him as he passed his plantation. The gentleman, apparently, would not be ill-pleased to have a Brother come to preach to his negroes, but this will depend on the result of further visits.]

May 28. In the morning at eight the Congregation assembled and listened to the reading of the Ascension of the Saviour.

June 3. Br. Fritz moved into the Brothers House to take charge of the Boys' Room.

June 7. Whitsunday. * * * Br. Utley preached in English. * * * In the afternoon the Communicants pledged themselves in the Cup of Covenant to united obedience and loyalty, and that without reservation they would commit themselves to the guidance and instruction of the Holy Ghost.

June 13. In the evening at six-thirty there was Communion Love-feast, and after it the Absolution and the Holy Communion. Included Br. and Sr. Bachhof, and Br. Rothrock, Sr. of Yorktown, there were 86 present.

June 17. In memory of the beginning of building in Herrnhut [1722] Br. Marshall read the account from Br. Cranz' Church History.¹⁷

June 20. The hours were struck on the new bell.

June 21. Br. Utley preached today to the English near MacKnight's; and Br. Tiersch was in Friedland. Brn. Marshall and Lorenz held the services here.

June 22. The Brn. Richter and Muschbach returned today from the Catawba River, where they went eight days ago to buy cattle. However, they were too late, for the cattle man had sold everything.

June 24. Our nine Boys celebrated their Festival. * * *

June 29. The Grosse Helfer Conferenz met, and in the evening the Congregation Council; in both we discussed the necessity of building a bridge over Muddy Creek on the new road to the Shallow Ford, as otherwise trade with Salem will be much hindered. After full consideration the Brethren who are members of Council and tax-payers took charge of the matter, and agreed to employ a Mr. Gentry, a carpenter, who is to build the bridge for £20 Proc. Brn. Herbst, George Schmid, and Triebel, having visited the place, and having talked with the carpenter, made an agreement with Mr. Gentry, the Brn. Bagge, Meyer and Muschbach also being present. Mr. Gentry agrees to have the bridge built by Nov. 1st; it to be fifteen feet high, and of the stipulated length.

June 30. The Aeltesten Conferenz met with Brn. Ernst, Bachhof and Soelle, partly to consider the journey of the Brn. Ernst and Bachhof to Pennsylvania, where they will be ordained during the visit of the Deputies from the Unity's Elders Conference.

July 6. In the evening a sermon of Br. Johannes, 1770, in Herrnhut, was read, commemorating the Martyrdom of John Hus.

July 7. Br. Rothrock¹⁸ and his son returned today to Pennsylvania.

July 15. Br. Schaub brought his son to Salem; the latter brought pleasing news from Christiansbrunn, Nazareth, Bethlehem and Lititz.

July 19. Br. Utley was among the English on the Yadkin, and as the crowd was too large for the shed where they usually meet he went

¹⁷ *Alte und Neue Brüder-Historie oder kurz gefasste Geschichte der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität in den altern Zeiten und insonderheit in dem gegenwärtigen Jahrhundert, von David Cranz.* Barby, 1771. 868 pages and an index. Second edition in 1772. Translated into English by Benjamin La Trobe, and published in 1780. A four-part continuation of the Cranz history was written by J. R. Hegner, Sr., Parts I and II appearing as one volume from Barby in 1791; Part III from Barby in 1804; and Part IV from Gnadau in 1816.

¹⁸ In June, Reuter had surveyed 200 acres for Philip Rothrock, and 400 acres for Johann Heckedorn, both of Yorktown, Pa., and 200 acres additional for Peter Pfaff, which completed the sale of land from the Christian Schmidt lot, No. 18 in the Etablissement. *Marshall's Report to U. E. C.*

with them into the woods and preached under the trees. Later, in Mr. Ellroth's house, he baptised three children.

July 27. In the Grosse Helfer Conferenz it was agreed to clear the streets, fence those leading to open barn yards, and so far as possible to keep things neat and clean around the houses.

July 30. A minister of the Reformed Church, Jonas Yung, passed on his way from Pennsylvania to the Hughwarren, whither he has been called.

Aug. 1. The hymns of the Singstunde followed the thought of the Daily Word: "Endeavor to keep the unity of the Spirit," etc.

Aug. 2. Br. Marshall prayed the Church Litany with the Congregation; then the account was read of the second session of the Ministers' Conference held in Herrnhut, June 13, this year, then Br. Utley preached in English on the text: "He is the atonement for our sins," etc. Afternoon we read the Memoir of Sr. Clement; and the Married People listened to a sermon of the Jünger. Br. Tiersch spoke in the evening service, which was closed with the Liturgy: "Tritt her, O Gemein."

The Aufseher Collegium has given the condition of the Salem Diaconie careful attention, and has at last closed the former Building Account. The Salem Land account will have to its credit the Quitrents from building lots, the returns from the woods, from the sale or rent of family houses, and the profits from the businesses and professions carried on for the benefit of the Gemein Diaconie; and from this Account the Gemein Diaconie will pay the Quitrents on the Salem Land to the Unity Administration, interest on money borrowed for the building of Salem, repairs on the Gemein Haus and other houses belonging to the Congregation, and the salaries of the Congregation officials.

Aug. 3. A written report of the above was submitted to the Grosse Helfer Conferenz, and there carefully considered; and in the evening it was laid before the entire Congregation Council, and carefully explained by Br. Marshall; and the Congregation acknowledged with thankful hearts that the Saviour has helped us so far that we not only live in the houses of peace, but may also worship undisturbed in His presence in the Gemein Saal.

Aug. 4. The Aeltesten Conferenz decided to postpone our Communion to Aug. 13th. Br. and Sr. Tiersch went to visit Bethabara and Bethania; Br. Marshall held the meeting for Communicants; and Br. Lorenz the Singstunde.

Aug. 5. There was Bible Reading from the Acts of the Apostles, chapters XV and XVI.

Aug. 6. Br. Marshall conducted the Liturgy, and Br. Utley the Singstunde. Two men had a fight on the street today, and as a stranger tried to stop them one turned on him and broke his leg.

Aug. 7. In the evening a sermon was read, then was sung the Liturgy: "Da Jesus an der Creuze stund."

Aug. 8. Singstunde in the evening.

Aug. 9. After praying the Church Litany there was preaching on Eph. IV, :—one body, one spirit. Then Nachrichten were read; and a sermon of the Jünger was listened to by the Married People. In the evening the Congregation listened to the reading of Br. Layritz's sermon on the Daily Word for this day: "I have something against thee because thou hast left thy first love."

Aug. 10. We were pleased by the arrival of our Governor, [Josiah] Martin. The Brn. Marshall and Bonn went to meet him, and gave him welcome at our boundary, and he was ushered into Salem by the trombones. In his suite were Col. Nash, the lawyer Canon, and his secretary Biggelson. They invited the six Brethren, Marshall, Tiersch, Utley, Bagge, Bonn and Muschbach to join them at meals for all four days, taking advantage of the opportunity to learn about Wachovia in general, about our settlement, the Parish, and many other things. Toward evening they visited the Single Brothers House, the store, apothecary shop, pottery, and blacksmith shop, with much satisfaction. In the evening at eight o'clock the entire company attended the Singstunde, as they did on the other days also; the Passion of Jesus was sung with alternate German and English stanzas, interspersed with choir anthems.

Aug. 11. His Excellency visited Bethabara and Bethania, accompanied by several Brethren; they returned in the evening.

Aug. 12. They were conducted through the Gemein Haus and the apartments of the Single Sisters; visited God's Acre, and the new plantation near Salem, and showed their approval.

Aug. 13. The Governor had the boundaries of Wachovia clearly pointed out on his map of the Province of North Carolina, and expressed his regrets that our Petition concerning the Parish had not been granted, but he gave us hope that if the Brethren would send in their Petition once more they would secure their object and the Parish would remain undivided. In the evening meeting the address was on the Daily Word, concerning the praise due to the Saviour on this day throughout the entire Unity of Brethren for the Baptism of His Spirit, poured out first on the Congregation of Herrnhut on this

day [1727], and in which all His Congregations have been made partakers. May His Sufferings and Death remain forever in our hearts!

Aug. 14. Gov. Martin and his suite left, well satisfied with their visit; the Brn. Marshall and Bagge accompanied them to Friedland Settlement, where on our boundary line they parted in most friendly fashion.

Today Br. Muschbach had a long conference with the Aeltesten Conferenz; he leaves tomorrow with Br. George Holder, who is going to Pennsylvania to visit his relatives. Matthias Reuz goes with them.

At half past twelve the Communicants met, and the Lord's Supper was announced for tomorrow.

Aug. 15. After Lovefeast, and the prayers for absolution, 75 Communicants partook of the Lord's Supper; the Married Sister, Catharine Stockburger, and the Single Sisters, Hanna Leinbach and Anna Johanna Steup, were present for the last time as Candidates. The Saviour was graciously present in our midst, and let us feel His peace. * * *

Aug. 16. After the Ministers' Communion and the Liturgy, there was preaching on Zeph. II, "The Lord thy God is nigh thee, a strong Saviour." In the afternoon was Children's Hour, and Reading Meetings with Nachrichten from Bethlehem, July to September, 1771. The close to this blessed day was made with the Liturgy, and the service in praise of God the Father.

Aug. 17. Was the Festival of our six Girls, who had a Lovefeast, with forty guests present. During the Lovefeast there was music composed by Br. Gregor. In his address Br. Tiersch held the Saviour before them as the truest Friend of Children, and it could be felt that He was moving their tender hearts. In the evening service at eight o'clock the Girls were commended to the thought and blessing of the Congregation.

Aug. 18. Br. Marshall made an address to the Communicants on the Daily Word: "The Lord of peace himself give you peace always by all means." The Communicants among the Single Sisters had a Liturgy; and the Congregation closed the day with a Singstunde.

Today there was Aeltesten Conferenz concerning the plan for Friedberg.

Br. Lorenz Bagge, with the assistance of Br. Ludwig Meinung, will keep the accounts of the Single Brothers House, ad interim; and Br. Petersen will look after its management, and superintend the workshops.

Aug. 19. Br. Utley returned from the Atkin, where he preached last

Sunday, and visited a number of families in their homes. On Sunday he first preached in German to a large gathering in Ellroth's house, then in English in MacNight's house; then he preached in English in Col. Hunt's house on the other side of the Atkin, and in Bryant's Settlement, where they have decided to build a meeting house in which only our Brethren are to preach. The Bible Reading today was Acts XVI. A package for Bethlehem and Europe was sent by Mr. Lanmann.

Aug. 20. Br. Tiersch was in Friedland, where he held service, visited at all the homes, and had several hearty interviews after the service. In the evening Br. Lorenz led the Liturgy for Communicants, and Br. Tiersch the Singstunde. Today we heard that Br. and Sr. Matthew Stach¹⁹ and Br. and Sr. Aust are nearing Wachovia, and

Aug. 21. Br. and Sr. Marshall went to Bethabara to receive them. In memory of the beginning of the Mission to St. Thomas the history of it was read, and a sermon of Br. Leonard²⁰ was read, which he had preached in Herrnhut on this day in 1762. The closing service was the Liturgy: "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden."

Aug. 22. Singstunde in the evening.

Aug. 23. Gemein Tag was observed with the reading of Nachrichten from Bethlehem for April,—the German Congregations,—and the report of the last colony to Sarepta.²¹ In the evening service there was an address on the Daily Word and Doctrinal Text for the day.

Aug. 24. Br. and Sr. Marshall returned, and with them came the Brn. Stach and Aust to visit here, the former went back to Bethabara this evening.

Several Sisters and Girls have been working in Bethabara for the past week, so Sr. Quest took the other three Girls thither, and

Aug. 25. They were joined by those from Bethania, and Br. Graff read their Doctrinal Sermon to them there.

Here in Salem Br. Tiersch did the same for the Boys, laying it upon their hearts that they should let the Saviour manifest Himself to them

¹⁹ Matthew Stach was born March 4, 1711, at Mackendorf, Upper Silesia, on the borders of Moravia. Joined the Unity at Herrnhut in 1728. He and his brother, Christian Stach, left for Greenland in January, 1733, the first Moravian Missionaries to the Esquimaux. He was ordained a Presbyter while in Europe in 1741; and was also married during that year. He returned from Greenland to Europe in 1771, after 38 years of Mission service. He died in Bethabara, N. C. December 21, 1787. Croeger's History of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum says: "The last years of his life he dedicated to his poor wife, who left him for a long time. At last she came to herself, and he treated her no other than as the lost piece of silver, laboring with longing and confidence for her redemption." In the new surroundings of the New World she again became a Communicant member of the church. After the death of Matthew Stach she moved to Friedberg, and died there, March 21, 1800.

²⁰ August 21, 1732, Leonard Dober and David Nitschmann (the carpenter) left Herrnhut for St. Thomas, the first Missionaries to the slaves on that Island.

²¹ A Moravian congregation in southern Russia.

this year, and forgive their sins. Br. Layritz' sermon, "Defile not the land," was read at the evening service.

Aug. 25. After long wishing and waiting we today had a good rain; there has been only one other since spring, and while the winter grain turned out well the summer grain, and especially corn and garden vegetables, have suffered much from the continued drought. In the evening the most recent *Wöchentlichen Nachrichten*, Nos. 9-14, were communicated.

Aug. 26. Bible Reading was Acts, XVII and XVIII.

Aug. 27. Br. Tiersch made an address to the Communicants on the Texts for the day.

Aug. 28. A sermon of the Jünger was read, then the Liturgy, "Da Jesu an dem Creuze stund," was sung. The eight Single Brethren from Bethabara, and one from Bethania, came this evening to Salem, and in their Choir House closed their Choir Year, and the Communicants among them had the Pedilavium.

Aug. 29. They began their festival with renewed grace and blessing from their Choir Head. After morning prayers the Ministers spoke with them in groups according to age, and also took dinner with them. At their Lovefeast the Psalm was sung which had been prepared by Br. Gregor and sent to Pennsylvania for this Festival, and it had a fine musical accompaniment. In their Memorabilia it was noted that this [Choir] year 15 Brethren have come to Salem from Bethabara, 2 from Europe and 2 from Pennsylvania; on the other hand 2 have gone to Pennsylvania, 5 have married, and one has been called home. The entire Choir contains 45 Single Brethren. Br. Tiersch then made an address to the Choir on the Text for the day. In the evening service the Congregation commended the Single Brethren to the Saviour with deep interest, singing a prayer for the blessing of the Church in the peace of Jesus Christ. The Choir Communion closed the services for the day.

Aug. 30. Br. and Sr. Graff were in Friedberg to speak with the Communicants preparatory to the Lord's Supper, so after the Communion Liturgy with the Single Brethren Br. Lorenz accompanied the nine Brethren to Bethabara, and held the Sunday services there. Here in Salem after praying the Church Litany Br. Utley preached in English, several friends being attentive listeners. In the evening Br. Marshall read to the Brethren and Sisters the Unity Memorabilia for 1771, and at the close the Congregation sang

Ja, Amen! da sind beyde Hände!

Aug. 31. Br. and Sr. Graff returned from Friedberg, where they held the Communion for 17 members, in the felt presence of the Saviour. Martin Walk partook for the first time. In the afternoon they attended the Aeltesten Conferenz in Salem.

Sept. 2. Bible Reading in the evening; two gentlemen from Hillsborough were present.

Sept. 7. The Married Choir was awakened by the trombones; and had morning prayer at nine o'clock. At two in the afternoon was the festal Lovefeast, during which it was remarked that the Brethren and Sisters Herbst, Valentine Beck, and Charles Holder had during this [Choir] year been married in Bethabara for Salem, and that Br. and Sr. Stockburger had been the first couple married in our new Gemein Saal. Ten couples moved this [Choir] year to Salem, making 18 couples with the eight who were already here. The Lord gave Br. and Sr. Meyer a little son, who was baptised in Bethabara by Br. Gregor. During this year the Sisters established sick-visiting among themselves. After this recital of the events of the year a Festal Psalm was sung with instrumental accompaniment. Soon after, Br. Marshall made the festal address on the text: "Let the house of thy servant be blessed." * * * After the address Br. and Sr. Graff returned to Bethabara, Br. Lorenz held the evening service, and the Congregation sang their blessing for the Married People. At seven was the Pedilavium, and at nine the Choir Communion, and we felt that our High Priest was in our midst.

Sept. 11. In the evening meeting of Communicants the Older Girl, Anna Johanna Steup, was blessed with the laying on of hands, and partook for the first time of the Lord's Supper in the Choir Communion of the Single Sisters.

Sept 21. In the morning the Helfer Conferenz met, and arranged for the care of the roads leading to the different towns. Br. Bonn was appointed to make a list of the Taxables in Wachovia in Rowan County, and Br. Merk those in Surry County, and hand them in at the next Court, Nov. 3rd.

[A report from Wachovia, found in the Bethlehem Archives, gives the following information about the roads laid out during this year. "At last we found a direct road from Salem to the mill site on the Lech, or Brushy Fork, where we built a bridge and re-opened the old road to Belews Creek, and the neighbors opened a road into this from the east by Mr. Robert Walker's, so that Salem has now good connections in all directions; and as shortly afterwards a road to Puffington's

Iron Works was opened from Walker's we have now a good road to Capt. Robert's in Virginia, and from there to Pennsylvania, which we have long desired." A Map of North Carolina, by Samuel Lewis, dated 1796, now in the rooms of the N. C. Historical Commission, shows the "Iron Works" on Snow Creek, about three-fifths of the way from the boundary of Wachovia to the Virginia line.]

Sept. 28. The Grosse Helfer Conferenz spoke with Br. Reuter about his duties as Church Warden, and that he alone should give alms to strange beggars, so that they should have no excuse to go from house to house.

Sept. 29. Congregation Council met, and considered 1) the Congregation accounts, for the Nachrichten and cost of bringing them amounts to about £60: Proc. Bethabara and Bethania will bear part of the expense. In Salem contributions to the Congregation Account are to be

from a Communicant Brother 16d,	Communicant Sister	8d,
Received Brother	Received Sister	5d,

2) Contributions for the Lovefeast remain 3d per person. The deficit in this Account will be assumed by the first named Account, which has a surplus of some pounds.

3) Each person in the Congregation in turn is responsible for the cleaning of the Gemein Saal; a Single Brother or Married Person who does not clean shall pay 1 shilling. The Saal shall be cleaned twice a week.

4) The roads have been divided among our three towns, by agreement of the Committees.

Salem, including Friedberg and Friedland, has 66 Taxables, therefore 59½ miles;

Bethabara 18 Taxables, therefore 13 miles;

Bethania 35 Taxables, therefore 27½ miles.

5) The winter arrangement of services is to be

a) Evening service one quarter of an hour after the bell rings for sunset.

b) The first bell for Singstunde will ring at 8:45 and the service will begin with the second bell shortly afterwards.

c) On Sunday the Litany will be at 9, followed by preaching; on a Gemein Tag there will be three sessions in the morning.

d) Sunday evening at 7 there will be service for the entire congregation; at 8 the Liturgy for the Communicants and Received.

Sept. 30. During this month Br. Soelle has made a 60 mile trip to Fox Nap, where many Germans live, poor in religious and in material matters; they rejoiced to listen to him, as this was the first preaching in their neighborhood. They promised to build a meeting house if Br. Soelle would come to them now and then.

Oct. 6, 7. Br. Bulitschek set up our new organ, and tuned it with Br. Graff's help. When finished it was at once played for services, and will make them, and especially the Singstunden, more attractive. [*Marshall's report to U. E. C.* It has two stops, is neatly made, has a very good tone, the organist can see the minister through it, and in general it is as well arranged as we could wish.]

Oct. 18. Br. George Holder returned from Pennsylvania today. With him came the Single Brn. Peter Rose and Andreas Glotz; Br. Casper Fischer, his wife and four children, stopped in Bethabara.

Oct. 31. The Communicants, in their Lovefeast, remembered the blessed work of God through Luther's Reformation, 250 years ago. The two sisters, Maria Elisabeth and Anna Johanna Krause (the latter the first-born child of the Unity in Wachovia) were blessed by the Srs. Marshall and Quest²² for their first participation in the Lord's Supper, which they then shared with the Congregation.

Nov. 6. Today Br. Lorenz went with Br. Spach's wagon to Cross Creek; and Br. Bagge sent six wagons to Charlestown.

Nov. 8. Br. Valentine Beck held the services in Friedland today for the first time.

Nov. 13. In the morning at 9 o'clock the Congregation met, and Br. Marshall made an address on the Daily Word, speaking of the grace which the Unity has experienced since the Lord declared Himself to be their Elder; then, all kneeling, he prayed that the Saviour would bless His Congregation here in Salem, and let them know that He is their God. Then all the Sisters met, then all the Brethren, and to each section was read the Jünger's sermon, preached on Nov. 13, 1759, in Zeist, after which they humbly worshiped their Chief Elder. In the afternoon at two the Lovefeast was held, in which our Congregation Anniversary was also celebrated. The children were present, and were told the story of why the Saviour was the Chief Elder of the Unity, and that He had the children also in His special care, when they loved Him and remembered what He had done for them; and that He had permitted us to meet in this Saal, consecrated to Him, in order that He might bless us. During the past year He has shown us His

²² The Srs. Marshall and Quest were Akoluthie, and the latter was Pflegerin of the Single Sisters. Later only ministers confirmed candidates for the Lord's Supper.



MRS. JOHN MICHAEL GRAFF

From a portrait in the Archives of Bethlehem, Pa.; probably painted by John Valentine Haidt. The brown bodice is laced with light blue cord, matching the light blue cap ribbons, the color denoting that she was a Married Sister.

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favor, and we acknowledged this with heartfelt thanks, and pray that He will lead us on, and continue to work in grace among us. During the Lovefeast a Festal Psalm²³ was sung, with instrumental accompaniment. After this the Communicants shared the Cup of Covenant, pledging themselves to be His people until they should see Him face to face. At eight o'clock in the evening the services of the day were closed with a Liturgy.

Nov. 17. In the evening Br. Johann Klein's remains were quietly re-interred, Br. Lorenz having brought them from Cross Creek.

Nov. 19. The mill, three miles below Salem, is so nearly finished that they can begin to grind corn.

Nov. 21. Br. Enerson was taken to Bethabara, where he can be better cared for.

Nov. 22. In the Litany we remembered Br. David Nitschmann, who recently went home in Bethlehem, [Pa.], and shortly thereafter we heard that Br. Pfeiffer was called home from Bethabara this morning about two o'clock. Br. Utley preached in English today.

Nov. 23. Most of the Single Brethren went to Bethabara to Br. Pfeiffer's funeral.

Dec. 4. Br. Steinman went today to Bethabara, where he will remain for a time and then settle on the land he has bought.

Dec. 5. The wagons returned from Charlestown. They brought letters and Nachrichten from Europe, and fifteen copies of the Life of Count Zinzendorf.²⁴

Dec. 10. In a meeting of Communicants it was announced that Br. Ludwig Meinung has this day been betrothed to the Single Sister, Maria Magdalena Hoepfner.

Dec. 16. The new road to the Shallow Ford was laid out and opened.

Dec. 20. There was English preaching, to which the new family from Caroll's Manor came from Bethabara.

Dec. 21. Br. Reuter laid off 450 acres of land on the Laer for the family from Caroll's Manor.

Dec. 24. At six in the evening the children had their Lovefeast, and Br. Tiersch spoke with them, * * *. During the Lovefeast they were catechised, and gladly answered the simple questions concerning the birth of the Saviour. At the close they received lighted candles; and sung a sweet Ave and Hallelujah to the Infant Jesus.

²³ Filed with the Diary.

²⁴ *Leben des Herrn Nicolaus Ludwig, Grafen und Herrn von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf, beschrieben von August Gottlieb Spangenberg.* It is in eight parts; the first is without date of publication, but the Introduction is dated March 30, 1772. Part VIII was published in 1775.

At eight o'clock the Congregation assembled. The Texts for the day were sung; then Br. Tiersch spoke earnestly about them. Then the Old Testament Promises were sung antiphonally by choirs of Brethren and Sisters; and the story of the birth of our dear Lord was read, the choir of Brethren singing the Angels' message: "Unto you is born this day a Saviour," and the choir of Sisters the air: "Holdselig Kindlein in Kripp und Windlein." During the singing of the hymn;

Ja, Er liegt in seinem Krippe
ruft zu sich
mich und dich,

the Congregation bowed before our God, made manifest in the flesh, thanking Him for His incarnation and death; the choirs responding: "Freue dich und sey frölich," etc. After the choirs had sung their "Ehre sey Gott," in harmony with the choirs above, the Congregation sang the "Hallelujah," and went peacefully and thankfully to rest.

Dec. 25. At nine o'clock the Congregation met for the Liturgy and the Hymn of Praise to the Son. At ten Br. Tiersch preached on the Christmas Gospel. In the afternoon there was a service for the children; then first the Married People and Widowed Choirs, then the Single Brethren, and finally the Single Sisters, met for worship in the presence of our Immanuel. In the evening service for the entire Congregation there was choir music, and a Christmas sermon by Br. Johannes was read; and the day closed with the evening blessing.

Dec. 27. The Communicants and Married People met for the wedding of Br. Ludwig Meinung and Sr. Maria Magdalena Hoepfner. Br. Tiersch spoke on the Daily Word, pointing out that the doctrine of the Atonement was the foundation of the Unity, of each Choir, and especially of the Choir of Married People, and that all the Choir plan of warning and instruction rested on the holy sufferings and death of Jesus, * * *. The wedding Doxology was sung by the choir; then, in the name of the Holy Trinity, Br. Tiersch united the two above named in marriage, pronouncing the blessing of the Church in the felt presence of the Church's Head.

Dec. 31. The Watch Services began at half past eight with a Lovefeast. * * *. In the second service, at ten o'clock, the Congregation heard a resumé of what the Saviour has done in all Orts Gemeinen, for the Pilgrims, among the heathen, the Diaspora, and in Home Missions. * * *. After eleven o'clock the Congregation met for the last time. The Text for the day: "Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity," was sung; then the Memo-

rabilia of the Congregations and Societies in Wachovia were read. As the Congregation sang

Setz uns deinen ganzen Volke,
Herr, zu einer warmen Wolke,

the trombones announced the entrance into the New Year, and the Congregation knelt before the Lord, and Br. Tiersch prayed to the Saviour, and commended the Congregation to Him, and He Himself spoke the Amen saying: "Friede, Friede sey mit euch." Then, all standing, the Congregation sang:

Gottlob, ein Schritt zur Ewigkeit
ist abermals vollendet!

and after the reading of the first Daily Word and Doctrinal Text, the blessing of the Lord was sung and pronounced upon the Congregation, and at the words: "Friede, Friede," the Kiss of Peace was exchanged.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Aufseher Collegium, 1772.

[The Minutes of the Aufseher Collegium, as written by Traugott Bagge, are a model of clearness of diction and good penmanship. They present the deliberations of a Board of intelligent, far-seeing, practical men, concerned for the welfare of the Congregation, the Community, and each individual citizen thereof; of a Board that applied the principles of the "Budget System" to the problems of 1772, even though it was a century and more before men named the plan. Moreover, as the Diary presents the picture of Salem life from the ideal, the religious, side, so these Minutes show the intensely human side, the trifling but annoying problems, the differences of opinion, the restlessness of youth under restraint, the difficulties of a period of re-adjustment in economic matters. The paragraphs translated show the financial plan for Salem, in so far as it was worked out during this year; and to these are added a few items to show that Salem was not a community of saints, but merely the residence of men and women who honestly meant to do their best for their God, their Church, and for themselves, but who sometimes missed the mark, even as do their descendents of the Twentieth Century.]

Wednesday, the 15th of April, 1772.

This Collegium consists at present of the following persons:

Richard Utley, Congregation Vorsteher,
Johann Ulrich Muschbach, Vorsteher of the Single Brethren,

Jacob Meyer, Curator of the Single Sisters,
 Niels Petersen, a Single Brother,
 Christoph Merkly, a Single Brother,
 Johann Henrich Herbst, a Married Brother,
 Traugott Bagge, Chairman.

Day before yesterday Br. Marshall organised this Board, and installed the Curator of the Single Sisters, according to the Synod of 1769; today the Board met in its first session, Br. Marshall also being present.

The history of the Wachovia Tract was outlined, and its purchase by the Unity and the Shareholders;¹ and it was noted that the Quit Rent had been paid by the Unity and the Shareholders, and by the Unity for those Shareholders who had fallen behind. The Unity had received nothing from Wachovia toward the Quit Rent until a few years ago, when Bethabara began to pay £10: Sterling annually as rent.

The Oeconomie, or common housekeeping, is now to cease, so the Diaconie hitherto existing in Bethabara will be divided into three:—

- 1) The Unity Administration Diaconie, which will take over all the debts and all the credits of the former Diaconie.
- 2) The Bethabara Diaconie.
- 3) The Salem Congregation Diaconie.

The Branches to be conducted in Salem for the benefit of the Salem Diaconie, that is the Store, Tavern, Pottery, and Tanyard, shall be indebted to the Salem Diaconie, and it in turn to the Administration Diaconie, for the value of their stocks, according to the recent inventories, paying annual interest at 5%.

The Store in Salem and the Store in Bethabara shall be one business. After all expenses of the business have been paid the profit from both Stores shall be divided, two-thirds to Salem Diaconie and one-third to Bethabara Diaconie.

Until the houses now being erected in Salem are finished the cost will be carried by the Administration.

The amount remaining from the £500: Proc. given by the Unity for traveling expenses of the Single Sisters and a building for them, will be applied to the cost of the Gemein Haus; but in case this Choir builds a House for itself the Diaconie will give the same amount toward their building.

Br. Reuter was told that in order to support himself he might survey land, and write Warrants, Deeds, Wills, Bills of Sale, etc. for non-

¹ Shareholders in the Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement.

residents as well as for Brethren and Sisters in the town, and a price will be named for each type of service.

The Brn. Beck and Bonn wish to buy the houses in which they are living. It was agreed that for houses bought interest should be charged at 5% on the unpaid part of the purchase price; rent on other houses should be reckoned at 6% on the latest appraised value plus any additional expenditure since the appraisal was made, if the renter keeps up repairs, and at 7% if the Salem Diaconie makes repairs.

What Br. Beck owes for the stock in his gun-stock-making business and what the Brothers House owes for the gunsmith business, shall be entered in the Administration books at the figure at which they were taken over from the Bethabara Diaconie.

Incidentally the wish was expressed that all Brethren, and especially the young people who are being trained to work in our midst, might accompany their work with Industry, Faithfulness, Ability, and Good Behaviour, laying aside all desire for convenience or profit which would impair or spoil their work; this would be for the benefit of employers and those who sell finished work, would increase our credit among our neighbors, and would draw customers to the town.

It will be easier for the above-mentioned Diaconie Branches if they pay their interest on stock monthly or quarterly; and then the Diaconie will be in position to pay the interest to the Administration.

Thursday the 16th of April.

As it will be well to have land around Salem, so that no one may become our neighbor who would disturb us, during the last Visitation² a Lot of about 3000 acres was laid off around and for Salem; for this the Administration will receive an annual rental of £20: Sterling for the first five years, beginning June 1, 1772, £30: Sterling for the next five years, and £40: Sterling yearly thereafter.

Br. Reuter has handed in his list of prices, as follows:—
An Advertisement, Bill of Sale for cattle, Note of Hand,

Certificate of Scalps, etc.	4 pence
A Warrant, beginning Whereas, etc.	6 pence
A Bill of Sale or Indenture on Improvements ³	1 shilling
A Bond	8 pence
An Attachment without Bond, an Execution where the owner is yet present	1 shilling

² The Brn. Gregor and Loretz, of the Unity's Elders Conference, were in Wachovia, September 15 to November 9, 1771. Rev. Hans Christian Alexander von Schweinitz, then of Bethlehem, Pa., came somewhat earlier, leaving when they did.

³ Land was held under Lease, but the Improvements might be sold and the Lease transferred.

A Power of Attorney to Pennsylvania, ...	18 pence to	2 shillings
Writing duplicate copies of a German Lease or Agreement for land purchased and partly paid for		5 shillings
A Deed of Conveyance		8 shillings
Lease and Release		10 shillings
Further; to survey and mark building lots and see that the fences are properly set, if he is given the necessary help in chain-carrying and driving stakes		5 shillings
To survey and stake a field or meadow, if given the neces- sary help as above mentioned, for a lot of not more than three acres, per acre		1 shilling
Over three acres, each additional acre		6 pence
The Board considers these prices fair.		

Saturday the 18th of April.

The Board studied the plan of Salem, and its houses, in order to determine the house-rent and ground-rent of the houses used by the businesses of the Diaconie, and how best to arrange monthly payments of the amounts hitherto paid by the businesses to the Unity, and the interest on their stock, as decided on the 15th of this month.

Careful consideration was given to the question of how to help Br. Micksch to secure a livelihood, but his circumstances make it difficult. For the time being, if he is industrious, he may be able to secure the necessaries of life by making candles, snuff, and fine-cut tobacco, and selling oil, young fruit trees which he has raised, garden seeds, vegetables, cucumber pickles, turnips, dried fruit, and the like; but in the beginning he will probably have a rather hard time.

For the present the Store shall pay annually to the Diaconie

for interest on £2632: 2: 3, stock, @ 5%.....	131:12: 1
house-rent, on £400: @ 6%	24:—:—
ground-rent on three corner lots, 18 sh. Sterl.	1:12:—
contribution from the business	8:—:—
	£165: 4: 1

The Tavern shall pay annually

interest on £483:10: 8, stock, @ 5%.....	24: 3: 6
house-rent, on £800:@ 6%	48:—:—

ground-rent on two corner lots, 12 sh.	
two half lots, 5 sh.	
twice 11 feet, 1:10d,	
in all 18 sh, 10d, Sterling	1:13: 6
contribution from the business	8:—:—
	£ 81:17:—

The Tannery shall pay annually

interest on £552: 5: 1, stock @ 5%.....	27:12: 3
house-rent on £250: @ 6%	15:—:—
ground-rent on the lots and land, 20 sh. Sterling	
in all	1:15: 7
contribution from the business	4:—:—
	£ 48: 7:10

The Pottery shall pay annually

interest on £124: 3: 2, stock, @ 5%.....	6: 4: 2
house-rent, on £300: @ 6%	18:—:—
ground-rent on one corner lot and 3 ft.	11: 1
contribution from the business	5:—:—
	£ 29:15: 3

In the above, according to the already established rate, one Spanish Dollar, now 8 shillings Proc., is counted at 4 sh. 6d. Sterling.

Each building lot has a 66 ft. front; each additional foot shall bring 1d Sterl. more ground-rent than is calculated for the 66 ft. lot.

According to the above the Congregation Vorsteher shall collect each month⁴

from the Store	12:14:—
from the Tavern	6: 6:—
from the Tannery	3:14: 6
from the Pottery	2: 5: 6
	£25:—:—

Wednesday the 22nd of April.

The wish was expressed that we should plan for the building of a brewery in the town, and that less strong drink should be distilled;

⁴The account books show that the cash so collected was used largely for Ministers' salaries. Marshall, Tiersch and Utley each received £52: N. C. currency, per annum; they also had their rooms rent free.

for beer would be much more wholesome for our Brethren, and the neighbors would buy it in quantity. But we see no chance for this as yet.

This year we will have to pay a good price for barley and other things, and the Store in Salem and Bethabara on the one side, and the Single Brothers House here on the other, must not work in opposition, but should tell where it can be bought rather than seize it for themselves. The price of grain shall be settled with the residents of the town, and shall be kept at that.

The Single Brethren are willing to sell bread from their House bakery to residents who do not wish to bake for themselves, and also to travellers. The weight will be that customary in Bethabara, and will increase or decrease according to the price of grain. They would like to have a larger supply of grain. As it is not best for persons of both sexes to go to the Single Brothers House we will plan for a town bakery, where anyone can go without offense.

Friday, the 24th of April.

The gun-smith in the Brothers House needs a place for shooting at mark; it was decided that the street back of Br. Reuter's house may be used, as it has not yet been opened.

According to the estimate made during the last Visitation the salaries of the ministers, the contribution to the Unity Sustentation,⁵ interest on the amount invested in the Gemein Haus, and the like, will amount to £272: per annum. This must be supplied by the monthly payments of the Branches, including the Single Brothers Diaconie, in order to get it started. George Holder's rent, on which he pays daily in milk, will count toward this also, as will the one-third which Br. Stockburger will give next year from the plantation here.

The above amounts shall be paid monthly to Br. Utley, beginning with the month of April.

The prices for work of the Single Sisters was stated, and also what they plan that each shall pay for food, house-rent, and toward the expenses of their House and the Congregation. They will buy bread from the Single Brothers bakery, getting 13 to the dozen, until they know whether it will be worth their while to bake for themselves; as yet they have neither oven nor other conveniences.

⁵ The Fund which paid the general expenses of the Unity.

Thursday the 12th of May.

Br. Bonn bought his house on May 6th for £140; and will give bond to pay interest on this at 5%. He must himself pay for what building he has done or may do to the house.

Friday the 22nd of May.

Br. Beck's house was first appraised at £170; but recently at £150. He may buy it at the latter sum, under the conditions made for Br. Bonn. Both Brethren shall agree to pay at least £10: annually on the principal, but this is such a hard year that the first payment may be delayed until two years from date.

On account of the present high prices, and because part of the barley will have to be used for feed as soon as it is ripe, for this year the price of barley shall be 3sh. 3d, per bushel.

Saturday the 30th of May.

As Sr. Oesterlein has had charge of the two daughters of Brn. Meyer and Bagge, she and Sr. Krause will be consulted as to what she should be paid for the time it takes, so that she may be able to support herself. The Diaconie will deduct from the house-rent of the Single Sisters the value of the school-room.⁶

Wednesday the 10th of June.

In consultation with Br. Reuter it was decided that wood for rails, if the log is 18 inches thick, shall be 2 sh. per tree-trunk; if 24 or more inches thick 3 sh. Wood for the potter, one foot longer than usual, 1 sh. 4d. per cord. Any one cutting his own wood must cut the tops and branches also and pile them in cords.

Br. Reuter has also made the following statement:—
The seller must always have his sales shilling free; if he gives paper or makes a calculation that is called a Douceur. The buyer must pay all costs from the time of the giving of the sales shilling to the completion of the transaction; for example,

⁶ Congregation accounts show that rent on the school-room was counted from April 30th, the end of the fiscal year of Salem Congregation. The Single Sisters were charged for four rooms, then credited with the one used for the school. The school could not have begun before April 10th, on which date the first teacher, Elisabeth Oesterlein, moved from Bethabara to Salem. The exact date of beginning being unknown, April 30, 1772, when the payment of rent began, is accepted as the date of founding of the day-school for girls, which ultimately became the day-school department of Salem Academy and Salem College.

1 cord hickory wood	—: 1: 6,
cost of cutting	3: 3,
cost of hauling	3:—,
total	—: 8:—.

A rebate of 4d. will be made at the close of the transaction. Building wood Nos. 1 and 2 is 2d per trunk; Nos. 3 and 4, and a trunk of shingle or clapboard wood, is 4d. For a load of stake or wagon wood, 6d.

His propositions were approved, but the Diaconie must pay him a certain per cent for taking the money and keeping the accounts.

In addition to his office as Forester Br. Reuter shall have oversight of the digging of clay, and the breaking and hauling of stone. 1 sh. 4d per wagon load can be paid for potter's clay, and 4d for white clay for building. Whoever digs clay or stone shall fill up the holes at his own expense.

Inquiry was made as to whether the Single Brother Christ might work again for Br. Aust, as Br. Beck has not enough work in his gun-stock business? Br. Beck may hire him to Br. Aust, just as he has often had to hire day-laborers.

Br. Fritz, the leather-goods maker, who has recently come from Europe, also knows something about dressing deer skins. He will begin both professions here on his own account, as he has made debts on the journey over. He will also dress skins for the Store. As he does not know a great deal about dressing deer skins he shall make a beginning in a small way on trial, otherwise there is no objection to his plan.

Friday the 12th of June.

There is complaint from the Brethren and Sisters in the town that so many cattle roam the streets that it is dangerous for the children. Answer was made that each should fence in his own yard, and keep the children there or in the house, and not let them run about on the streets. Yet if all the lots on the main street could be fenced and used until they were needed for building it would help to keep the cattle off the streets.

In this connection much was said about a dangerous bull belonging to the Single Brethren, and they were asked to keep him in so that he should not jump fences or go into gardens in the town, or injure some one.

Friday the 26th of June.

William Gentry, on the Yadkin, offers to build a bridge over Muddy Creek, on the Shallow Ford Road, for £20.; all expense for food, hauling and labor included, and to finish it before winter. He will guarantee it for four years against floods, and if it is carried away will rebuild it without pay. The offer is fair, if he can and will make it good. George Schmidt, as road-master, shall look into the matter, be present when the contract is signed, and collect the money.

Wednesday the 15th of July.

The support of our three married ministers will amount to £156: annually. It was considered whether this should not be paid by the individual Brethren and Sisters, instead of the Diaconie Branches, but it was decided that the Congregation should not bear this burden unless it appeared that the Branches could not do it. They shall therefore pay monthly to Br. Utley

the Salem Store	4:10:—
the Tavern	2: 5:—
the Pottery	18:—
the Tannery	1: 7:—
the Single Brothers businesses.....	3:—:—
	£12:—:—

This arrangement begins with the first of April, but as money is so scarce, and the Branches have to pay the interest agreed on, (see April 18th), those who direct each Branch may give Br. Utley a Ticket⁷ for the past months until they are ready to pay, and he shall count the Tickets as cash in his accounts.

Monday the 27th of July.

For the present, the price of wheat is 4 sh. 4d. per bushel.

Saturday the 1st of August.

As the Tannery cannot well do without lime, and Marshall Duncan will not burn any more, Br. Herbst will see whether Duncan will not let him burn lime there.

⁷ An acknowledgment of indebtedness which did not bear interest.

Closing the books of the Bethabara Oeconomie shows that the stock of the Store is only £1846:16:—, that is £785: 6: 3 less than was counted on April 18th. The annual interest, therefore, will be less, and the monthly payment will be £9:13: 9.

Br. Muschbach has positively declared that he will not pay the monthly contribution from the Single Brethren's businesses for the ministers' support, assessed on the 15th of last month. As the Collegium can not persuade him to attend meetings of the Board, and as he continues to contradict and work against the decisions of the Board in spite of the fact that other members of his Choir have given their opinions or their approval, it was unanimously decided to send a letter to the Aeltesten Conferenz asking that another Brother be put in his place to take charge of the Single Brethren's Diaconie, which letter was written, considered point by point, approved, and made ready for delivery.

Thursday the 27th of August.

George Schmidt will pay 1 shilling^s per week school-money for his daughter.

Wednesday the 9th of September.

It is nearly time to give in the list of Taxables, and as we have no Brother in Rowan County who is a Justice it was agreed that Br. Bonn should make the list and send it to Justice Spurgeon. It is best that we handle all such matters as a community, as we wish to keep on friendly terms with the officials of the land and yet avoid letting them become too well acquainted with our affairs.

Plans were discussed for the Congregation Cash Account. It was suggested that every resident of the town over 16 years of age should contribute; that if a Communicant paid one shilling, one who was Received, or not yet Received, should pay about eight pence. The monthly expenses are:—for candles, 4 shillings; oil for five lamps, 4 sh.; Communion wine, 13sh. 6d.; other expenses for the Saal and equipment, 15 sh.; a total of £1:16: 6 per month, or for a year 23:14: 6 Salem's share of the £60: yearly for Nachrichten, letter-post-

age, agents' salaries, etc. for Wachovia is 35:—:—

total£58:14: 6

The above-mentioned £60: was calculated from the expenses of previous years, as follows:—

^s According to an entry in the Administration accounts of this period £1: Sterl. equalled £1: 15: 6, North Carolina currency. If the Pound Sterling be counted at the usual \$4.48 then a North Carolina Pound was worth about \$2.74, and one shilling about 13 1/3 cents.

Nachrichten for one year, expense of writing at	
Barby	Reichsthaler 66:16:—.
Contribution for postage in Barby	5:11:—
Writing materials, Barby	2:—:—
The above counted as 15 Pistoles @ 29sh. 6d.	£22: 2: 6
One year's postage, to the Mission Board	14:—
One year, to Br. Wollin for acting as Agent in	
London, £10: Sterling	17: 4: 7
One year, for postage in London	£6: Sterl. 10: 6: 9
One year, Nachrichten from Bethlehem.....	4:—:—
Payment to men taking letters to or from Bethlehem	2:10:—
Sundries	3: 2: 2
	£60:—:—

At present there is no charge on letters to or from Pennsylvania, but it is different with letters to or from Europe by way of Pennsylvania. The following charges are established for letters without enclosures:—

to or from London, but no further	: 8d.
to or from places further away in	
England	1: 4
to or from Ireland	2:—
to or from Holland	2: 6
to or from Germany	3: 6

Strangers wishing to send letters through us shall pay

to or from England	2: 6d.
to or from Germany	5:—

One must be careful to see that they are single letters, or that double or treble is paid, according to what they are. The Single Br. Meinung shall have charge of the post.

We have agreed to pay 5 shillings per bushel for wheat, as it cannot be bought for less.

Thursday the 24th of September.

In future the Board will meet each Monday morning, directly after the Helfer Conferenz; other meetings as needed.

Saturday the 27th of September.

The Committees from Salem, Bethabara, and Bethania met in Bethabara, and after considering all circumstances agreed that the mainten-

ance of the roads in Wachovia shall be cared for by the Congregations as follows:—

<i>Salem</i> , which has 66 Taxables, including those to the south,		
takes the road from there to Peter Frey	7½	miles
Herman's road	5½	"
Ulrich Richards' or Spurgeon's road,		
from Herman's road	2½	"
Salem to Blewers Creek	7	"
Salem to the Town Fork as far as the		
cross road	4	"
Ditto to near Sam'l Wagner's	3	"
the new road to Shallow Ford	10	"
from the beginning of the Town Fork Road		
to the Spangenberg	2½	"
from Baumgarten's foot-path to Steiner's mill	5½	"
from the new Shallow Ford road to Douthet's ford ...	4	"
total		51½ miles.

Bethabara, with 18 Taxables, takes the road from there towards Robert Walker, as far as our boundary 10 miles
to Salisbury, as far as Baumgarten's foot-path 3 "
the road to the mill, and
the foot-path to Salem until it touches the main road.

<i>Bethania</i> , with 37 or 38 Taxables, including those living in Wachovia north of Salem, takes the following roads:—		
from Henrich Benner to the Bethabara Mill road	7	miles
the old Shallow Ford road to Joseph Holder's bridge	2½	"
from the Hollow road to the Bethabara Mill	4½	"
from the mill to the Salisbury road	1	"
Douthet's road, as far as the new Shallow Ford road	3	"
from the fork in the old Salisbury road into the pres-		
ent Salem road, as far as the Spangenberg	1½	"
from the Little Yadkin	2	"
from Schilling's or Zeitzen's place to the old Shallow		
Ford road	6	"
total		27½ miles

and the foot-path from Bethabara as far as the Bethania road.

Monday the 28th of September.

Br. Utley has received an inventory of the musical instruments from Br. Henrich Stöhr. It would be well to have a separate closet for the instruments in the Brothers House. When repairs on instruments are needed the head of the Congregation fund should be consulted. The musicians shall be requested to be careful with the instruments, even though no one has been expressly charged with their oversight.

It would be well if the burning out of chimneys were given up, and instead they should be swept at an appointed time. Br. Bressing, who understands this work, will be consulted about it. The wish has often been expressed that we had a fire engine and other apparatus in our town, and also fire regulations. Meanwhile, the ladders used in building shall be placed in different parts of the town, and shall hang where they may easily be reached in case of danger.

Monday the 12th of October

Wages for the Sisters for digging in the garden or washing shall be 2 shillings a day; wages by the week, 6 shillings. Anyone employed by the week, who is called on to wash or dig, shall receive more in proportion.

The Children's Collection⁹ in Salem at Michaelmas amounted to £3:16:10, which, with the collection from Bethabara and Bethania, will be sent to Bethlehem, where the children of the Unity in America are now being cared for.

Monday the 19th of October.

In Br. Petersen's absence Br. Merkly announced the arrival of two Single Brethren from Pennsylvania. Br. Rose will be teamster for the Single Brethren; Br. Klotz is a sickle and nail smith. For the present he will find work with the gun-smith, and will also work over some old sickles.

We believe that we will have to pay 2 sh. 6d. a bushel for corn this year.

As work in the brick-yard is over for the year the Salem Diaconie will take the stock from the building account. It will pay 25 shillings per 1000 for brick, and 33sh. 4d. per 1000 for roofing tile; will sell the former for 30 sh. and the latter for 45 sh. per 1000.

⁹ The collection was for the support of those children of the Unity who were being cared for in nurseries and schools.

Saturday the 24th of October.

Br. Bressing is not unwilling to buy the joiner's tools, belonging to the building account, which is approved, except that Br. Enerson may wish to keep a few. The left-over pieces and whole boards and wood which were in Br. Enerson's care, shall be converted into cash.

Br. Rasp will take over the mason's and stone-breaker's implements from the building account to his own.

As we are not in position to send money to Europe for the Nachrichten, etc. Br. Marshall will have all such things paid for in Germany by Br. Paul Schneider, and Br. Bagge will do the same in England through Br. Wollin, and they will be reimbursed here.

Monday the 2nd of November.

It was thoroughly discussed that a paragraph should be inserted in the Leases, which the Brethren and Sisters receive for their possessions in the town, which should provide that no one might sell to any one who was not entitled to own and live in a house in a Gemein Ort; on the other hand that the Congregation was not obligated to take over the house or land belonging to a Brother if his circumstances changed or he died, but that he or his heirs were at liberty to sell to any one living in the town who was in position to buy, permission having first been secured from the Congregation.

It was decided, if possible, to secure action by the Assembly which should recognise as a Freeholder not only one who owns land but also one who has a considerable business. Also that we need one or two Justices of the Peace in Salem, which would not only bring business to the town, but would also deter people from being disorderly, or from bringing action against one or another of our Brethren before a Justice who might live thirty miles from here.

When visitors to the town must be entertained either in a home or at the Tavern, because of politeness or in recognition of services rendered to the community, it shall be paid for by the Diaconie.

Monday the 9th of November.

It has been proposed that a messenger go to Cross Creek each month to bring the Wilmington paper, and letters for the district from Salisbury to Salem and beyond. It was agreed that we take part in this effort to benefit the land, and we will subscribe for three papers,—for the Store, the Brothers House, and the Tavern.

A path has recently been cut from the Quaker or New Garden Settlement here. It can do no harm if it becomes a road, as it is nearer that way than by Walker's.

Monday the 16th of November.

Steiner, George Holder, and Baumgarten, as non-resident members belonging to Salem Congregation, shall pay 1 sh. 3d. for each couple monthly to the Congregation account, from the date of the last arrangement.

Br. Meyer again mentions how necessary it is for him to have a new stable at the Tavern. The Board wishes he had not made so much preparation in advance, as the stable is a new building, for which the Congregation must give consent. But it will be laid before Congregation Council, and the Administration will advance the money.

Monday the 23rd of November.

Some of the Brethren are of the opinion that the Store should not sell Unity publications at a profit. It has therefore been decided that their sale shall be taken over by the Diaconie, the prices to be fixed by this Board. As the Store has some books on hand it shall sell them to the Diaconie at cost, as it will not be well to have them on sale at two places at different prices.

Br. Bagge states that he considers it dangerous for the Branch which he represents to stand in his name, for in a business like the Store at Salem and Bethabara there are and will be outstanding debts, and in case of his death they would not properly belong to his Estate, and neither would the stock, but under the law both might be considered as so doing, and much confusion might result. So long as there was an Oeconomie at Bethabara, and it was generally understood, it was possible enough, and the business could be transferred without a legal document, as was done after Br. Gammern's death; but now it is known that the Oeconomie no longer exists, and people consider the Master of each Branch as its owner, and in case of his death his estate and his Branch will be confused, to the detriment of both. In order to avoid this Br. Bagge will draw up and sign a Declaration, which will explain on what conditions he conducts the business of the Store, and will authorize whomsoever the Aufseher Collegium may appoint as his successor to collect the Store debts. He will sign a similar Declaration that the negroes Sam, Frank, and Sambo, are not his, although they were bought in his name.

Monday the 30th of November.

The bridge over the Muddy Creek on the Shallow Ford road is finished, and William Gentry has been paid the £20: for his work, through the Store. The neighbors had given us reason to hope that they would build the part of the bridge from the farther side of the creek to firm land, but they now refuse to do this, so the committee of Brethren who made the other contract with Gentry have arranged with him to finish the work for 40 shillings and a gallon of whiskey.

When we once know for sure in which County this bridge is, Court will be asked to declare it a County bridge, and to so record it.

The Leases for land in Salem were again considered, and it was decided that it was important to have in them a paragraph imposing a penalty of £100: Sterling, for selling or renting a house to an outsider, or any one who might move his family into the town without being eligible under our Constitution, and that the lessee should give Bond to this effect. This is more important than details concerning clearing the land, giving it up, or taking it away from the lessee.

Tuesday the 1st of December.

Br. Tiersch's letter of Nov. 16th was again considered, and the following letter from this Board to the Aeltesten Conferenz was prepared.

"Dear Brethren and Sisters of the Aeltesten Conferenz:—

In reference to a letter received from Br. Tiersch on Nov. 16th and the matters therein contained we humbly present our advice. The matters indeed had often had our attention, and have now been considered in two sessions of our Board, together with all circumstances associated with them.

"1) We find that C * * * H * * *¹⁰ owes the Brothers House about £14: for suppers and liquors, and £44: as per Inventory for the business he took over; he owes the Store about £17: for sugar, coffee, clothing, and saddler's supplies; and about £25: to the Tannery for leather; in all he owes these Branches about £100.; in addition to other debts he may have of which we do not know. We think this condition has largely resulted from idleness, for which he has had plenty of opportunity because he has been used for so many things,—carrying messages, measuring land, carpenter work, butchering, raising log houses, cleaning house, looking out the line for roads,—for while he has generally been paid for these services he is often idle all day, and it

¹⁰ The name is given in the Minutes, but is here omitted as the object of the translation is to show the matters which came before the Collegium, not to reveal private difficulties.

is to be feared that in these employments he is accustomed to use too much strong drink. He shall be warned to work steadily at his profession, and to refuse to do the other things, and to cease the misuse of strong drink, so that he may be able to pay his debts, for there will be no lack of work for the saddlery. Unless very necessary no occasion shall be given him to leave his work. Certain Single Brethren owe their House and other businesses something, but this will not be serious if they will stop idling and will work. Men who do piece work should be as industrious as those who are paid by the day. The Collegium recommends that the Masters on the one hand, and the officials of the Single Brethren on the other, shall insist that the men, whether they live in the Brothers House or outside, shall work steadily; this will help to put a stop to idleness, and the Single Brethren promise to help. It is not well that during work hours journeymen should be idle, should go pleasure-walking into the woods or elsewhere, or should go to the mill, to Bethabara or Bethania, without object, and without permission from their Masters or the House officials. The apprentices should also be kept in better order, and there should be an understanding between the Choir officials, the Brethren in charge of the Boys, and the Masters, to hold them to their duties, that they go to the work-shops at the proper time, that they work diligently and well, that they do not linger too long at meals, and that they continue to work until stopping time, or until the Master gives permission to lay the work aside. Much of this can be adjusted in a conference of Master-workmen. The Collegium would like to see the rule renewed in the Brothers House that any one who, on Sunday, wishes to go to the mill, to a settlement, to Bethabara or Bethania, should first obtain permission from the Choir officials, and that so far as possible the younger Brethren should go in company with older, steady, Brethren, instead of with those of their own age.

"2) We think it would be well to abide by the recommendations of the Helfer Conferenz concerning playing on Sunday. In connection with the subject of Sunday we desire to say that in business nothing ought to be sold on Sunday, nor charged, neither should work be taken in nor given out. Neither should the musicians play Minuets, Polonaises, Marches, or other worldly music, but rather confine themselves to Chorales.

"3) We consider it a serious breach of Congregation and Choir regulations that the persons mentioned by Br. Tiersch stayed until midnight, without permission, at George Holder's plantation, shucking corn. But this has already been taken up by the Choir officials, so we

think enough has been done for this time, and hope it will not be necessary to think of it again."

Monday the 14th of December.

It was agreed that this winter we will pay 20 shillings per hundred pounds for slaughtered hogs between 100 lbs. and 150 lbs. in weight, and 22 sh. per hundred pounds for those over 150 lbs.

Monday the 21st of December.

Instead of trying to get more lime from Duncan we will see whether any can be secured from the Catawba, it may cost more, but the Tannery must be kept going. In this connection it was resolved to send a Petition to the next Assembly asking that a law might be made that any one who has limestone on his land and will not burn it for sale, may be obliged to sell the land to some one who will burn it.

A letter was read from Br. Meinung, and his proposal was accepted that he should keep the Salem Diaconie books, and in payment therefor he should live, rent free, in the house vacated by Br. Enerson.

Finally it was suggested that the young people in the Choir Houses should be given practice in writing and arithmetic, so they might not forget what they have learned.

Monday the 28th of December.

Br. Petersen will call together the Brethren who are to consider the building of the Waterworks, and have them write down their suggestions for further consideration. The question was raised whether oak logs could not be bored in the neighborhood for this purpose; also suggested that the pipes to be laid down hill should be bored $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the pipes laid up hill should be bored $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

Br. Meyer received permission to lead the run which comes from the Brothers House garden across the Store lot and that next to it, and to take it into his lower lots for the improvement of the meadow.

Salem Leases.

[It is a general principle of law that whoever holds title to a piece of land thereby owns all that stands upon that land, but this did not obtain in Wachovia under the "Lease System," where, by definite agreement, the title to land was held by the Unity, or later by the Southern Province of the Moravian Church, but the improvements were the property of individual owners. This was originally because of the

Quit-rent system, but after the Unity had acquired a fee simple title it was continued because of the opportunity it gave the officers of the Congregation to determine who might live in the congregation town. The system was in force in Salem until 1856; thereafter the lease-hold might be exchanged for free-hold at the pleasure of the owner of the improvements, at certain established rates. The original Indentures were written in duplicate, signed and exchanged; of the following Salem Lease both copies are preserved. It is written in English, and is given in full as illustrative of the system.]

This Indenture made the First Day of May in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Seventy Two *Between* Frederic Marshall of Salem in the County of Rowan in the Province of North Carolina as Attorney of James Hutton of Chelsea in the County of Middlesex in England of the One Part and John Valentine Beck of Salem aforesaid of the other Part *Witnesseth*, that for and in Consideration of the Rents, Covenants and Agreements herein after mentioned and reserved He the said James Hutton *Hath* demised granted set and to farm let and by these Presents *Doth* demise grant set and to farm let unto the said John Valentine Beck, *All* that Messuage or Tenement & Lot of Ground thereunto belonging, situate lying and being in the Town of Salem in Wachovia in the County of Rowan in the Province of North Carolina according to the Draught of the said Lot hereunder delineated bounded as therein mentioned viz. Northward by a Lot rented by Charles Holder, Eastward with the Main Street, Southward with a Lot of Jacob Bonn, and Westward with the Back Street, Together also with all and singular the Buildings, Gardens, Orchards, Ways, Streets, Passages, Waters, Water-Courses, Rights, Members and Appurtances whatsoever thereunto belonging *To Have & to Hold* the said hereby leased Premises unto the said John Valentine Beck his Executors and Administrators for and during and unto the full End and Term of Twelve Months from the Day of the Date hereof from hence next ensuing and so from Year to Year as long as both the said Parties shall please *Yielding and paying* unto the said James Hutton his Heirs Executors or Administrators the Yearly Rent of Five Shillings Sterling, at the Rate of four Shillings six pence Sterling for One Spanish Dollar. And if it should happen that the said John Valentine Beck should want to determine this Lease, it shall be lawfull for the said John Valentine Beck his Executors or Administrators to offer his Improvements for Sale to any Member of the United Brethren, who according to the Rules of their Society is qualified to possess and with his Family to live in a House at

Salem. *Provided* however, *And* it is expressly agreed on by the Parties hereunto, that the said John Valentine Beck his Executors or Administrators shall not nor will let set bargain sell or assign the hereby leased Premises or any part or parcel thereof without the Special Licence or Consent of the said James Hutton his Heirs, Executors or Administrators, or some or One of them under his or their hands and Seals first had and obtained under the Penalty of One Hundred Pounds Sterling Money. And it is hereby further agreed by & between all the Parties hereunto that if the said James Hutton, his Heirs, Executors or Administrators shall think fit at any Time to determine this Lease, then the said John Valentine Beck his Executors or Administrators shall be reimbursed and repaid by them all his and their reasonable Expenses and Disbursements in building fencing and Improving in and upon the same described Piece or Lot of Ground, which Payment or Reimbursement shall be made in manner following, that is to say, One third Part thereof from and immediately after the Expiration or sooner Determination of this Lease and the remaining Two third Parts thereof in three equal yearly Payments to commence and be reckoned from the Day of the Date of the aforesaid Determination. And the aforesaid John Valentine Beck for himself his Executors and Administrators doth covenant grant and agree to and with the said James Hutton his Executors Administrators and Assigns, that if any Controversy shall arise between them, concerning the Value of any such Improvements made on the said demised Premises or Disbursements thereupon, Then the said John Valentine Beck his Heirs, Executors or Administrators shall referr the same to some Three judicious & indifferent Neighbours Inhabitants of Wachovia, (whereof each Party shall choose One and the Two Persons so to be chosen shall choose a Third) and whatsoever the same Three Persons so to be chosen, or a Majority of them shall award & judge of and concerning such Improvements & Disbursements, shall be conclusive and binding on all the Parties and Persons concerned, so as such Award so to be given shall be put in Writing under the Hands of the said Three Referees or a Majority of them, ready to be delivered to the Parties in the Space of Ten Days next after the Delivery of such Account of the Disbursements aforesaid. *In Witness* whereof the Parties to these Presents have interchangeably set their Hands and Seals the Day and Year first above written.

Sealed and Delivered
in the Presence of us
Traugott Bagge
Rich^d. Utley

James Hutton ()
by (Seal)
Frederic Marshall ()

[The other copy is signed by John Valentine Beck, and with it is filed the following Bond for Performance.]

Know all Men by these Presents, that I John Valentine Beck of Salem in Rowan County in the Province of North Carolina, Gunstocker, am held and firmly bound unto James Hutton of Chelsea in the County of Middlesex in the Kingdom of Great Britain in the Sum of One Hundred Pounds Sterling Money to be paid to the said James Hutton his certain Attorney Executors Administrators or Assigns, To which Payment well and truly to be made I bind myself my Heirs Executors and Administrators and every of them firmly by these Presents. Sealed with my Seal, Dated the First Day of May in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred Seventy Two, and in the twelfth Year of his Majesty's Reign.

The Condition of this Obligation is such, that if the above bounden John Valentine Beck his Executors or Administrators do and shall from time to time and at all times hereafter well and truly observe perform fulfill and keep all and singular the Articles, Covenants, Promises and Agreements which on the part and behalf of the said John Valentine Beck his Executors and Administrators are and ought to be performed fulfilled and kept as Specified and contained in One pair of Indentures of Lease bearing even Date with these Presents, made between the said James Hutton of the One Part and the said John Valentine Beck of the other Part according to the true Intent and meaning of the said Indentures, Then this Obligation to be void, otherwise to be and remain in full force and virtue in the Law.

Sealed and delivered

in the presence of us

Traugott Bagge

Rich^d. Utley

JOHN VALENTINE BECK (Seal)

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Aeltesten Conferenz Minutes, 1772.

[Until the organization of the Aufseher Collegium the Aeltesten Conferenz cared for both the material and spiritual welfare of Wachovia, but after the Collegium was elected in Salem, and Committees in Bethabara and Bethania, the Conferenz concerned itself chiefly with moral and religious matters, being responsible for all the Congregations and Societies in Wachovia. The Conferenz appointed Festal Days, and planned the number of services, though the programs were left to the individual ministers; it passed on all applications for Reception and Confirmation, and administered Church Discipline. The Conferenz alone was authorized to ascertain the will of the Lord through

the "lot," which was used to decide various questions relating to the above-mentioned matters, and also in regard to marriages. "Marriage by lot" has been so persistently misunderstood that the entries concerning the method of procedure will be given from time to time, to show what it really was. It so happens that in the two marriages in 1772 the lady was suggested by the Conferenz, but at other times her name was proposed by the man, and the woman was always entirely at liberty to accept or reject the proposal. Naturally, much of the Aeltesten Conferenz record is personal, and without historic importance, but such items as seem to be worth translating follow. The members of the Aeltesten Conferenz all served by virtue of their office, and in 1772 were:—

Br. and Sr. Marshall,
 Br. and Sr. Graff,
 Br. and Sr. Tiersch,
 Br. and Sr. Utley,
 Br. Lorenz Bagge,
 Sr. Anna Maria Quest,
 Sr. Anna Maria Krause.]

Jan. 14. L*** M*** has written a note to the Conferenz,—his Master, A***, has dismissed him from the workshop. There is fault on both sides, but a Master has not the right to dismiss a journeyman or apprentice, but should try to train the boys so as to make orderly and useful men of them. As there seems to be hope of doing something with M*** we will try to bring the two together again, and persuade them to bury the past, Br. Tiersch will speak with A***, and Br. Muschbach with M***.

A case of glass lamps has come from Pennsylvania; they will all be kept for the Salem Diaconie.

Straehle has come to George Schmidt, and Martin Schneider to Heinrich Stöhr, to learn their professions.

Jan. 21. Martin Hauser and Christian Conrad have been summoned to Muster by the Captain of their District, and have obeyed. However, Col. Armstrong says no one would have taken notice if they had remained away. Martin Hauser is entitled to a Certificate as a Communicant member, and Br. Graff will give him one, signed by Br. Graff and two Brethren from Bethania.

Jan. 25. The opening of the new road from Salem to the Shallow Ford was again considered. It will run from the street by the Single Brothers House, then above the fall in the Petersbach, along the ridge

to the old Salisbury road, then a short distance across the Laer into the proposed road and ford across Muddy Creek near George Loesch's, etc. It must be approved by the next Court.

Feb. 11. Br. Spissike is now Master tailor in the Brothers House in Salem; Br. Zillman has been appointed nurse, and will also work on his own account as a tailor.

Br. Stockburger has notified this Conferenz in writing that he is willing to take charge of the plantation in Salem, and suggests that he keep his present position until August, in addition to the farming. The Conferenz does not think this wise, and would rather help him settle now. His marriage also comes into the question, and the Saviour's decision as to that will decide the plan for our Brother. So far the only one we have thought of for him is B*** E***, so it was asked, with Yes and No: "Shall B*** E*** be suggested to Br. Stockburger?" Answer: "No."

Then it was asked "whether we should inquire whether he had himself thought of any one?" Answer: "No."

Then H*** L*** of Bethania was proposed, and it was asked: "Whether we should consider her in connection with this marriage?" Answer: "No."

Then M*** S*** and Catharina Christmann were discussed, and the question put as to the latter with Yes, No, and a Blank, and the "Yes" was drawn.

Now the suggestion will first be made to Stockburger, if he approves it then to Sr. Christmann, and if she accepts then George Schmidt¹ must be notified.

Feb. 25. Br. Stockburger's marriage will take place in Salem next Sunday, Br. Tiersch officiating. On Monday the newly wedded pair will come to Bethabara.

March 17. Br. Marshall submitted the draft of a Petition to the Governor, Council, and Assembly, asking for the restoration of Dobbs Parish for the entire Wachovia district.

March 24. Serious consideration was given to the fact that in Salem the builders are losing an entire hour in the morning at 9 o'clock and in the afternoon at 3. This has come about through mismanagement, for formerly food was taken to the work-places at those times, while now every one goes home. A stop must be put to this, and the matter better arranged.

March 31. The sheriff has posted an Advertisement in Bethania,

¹ She was living in George Schmidt's family.

giving notice that on next Easter Monday the Freeholders shall assemble for the election of a Vestry. There are few Freeholders there, and the notice is received with indifference.

A contract has been made with Kapp and Kasner concerning the grist and saw mill.

*April 19.*² The Vestry and Parish Meeting will be held tomorrow. Vestrymen will have to be elected in the place of those taken by Rowan County in the division of the County, and new Church Wardens must also be elected. The Petition to the Governor and Assembly concerning our Parish Act will be presented to the Parish Meeting for signatures.

May 15. Br. Bachhof reports [from Friedberg] that the Captain and the Court Martial will recognize as free from Muster those who are Communicants, but those who only belong to the Society must pay a fine of 1 shilling. The Captain also asks for a catalog of the Communicant and Society Brethren. The Aeltesten Conferenz sees difficulty in furnishing this catalog, first because of the doubt whether several of those on the list of the Society should properly be counted as Brethren, and secondly because it would be equally as questionable to leave out a name without positive declaration from a man that he no longer wished to belong. Moreover, Br. Bachhof can not furnish such a catalog, for he is not ordained, and cannot claim to be a Minister of the Brethren's Unity. Certificates will be furnished to the Communicants when asked for, and it was resolved that Br. George Hartman shall collect the shillings from the Society members, and take them to the Captain, and try to make him again friendly and content.

May 19. Br. Beck shall go to Friedland the first time with another Brother, so that he may see how services are conducted there.

May 26. The six dozen Text Books received from Europe shall be divided,—12 to Bethabara, 12 to Bethania, 5 to Friedberg, 1 to Friedland, and the rest for Salem. In this way each family will have one, and each room in the Choir Houses. Of the 6 copies of the History of the Brethren's Church one shall stay in Salem, one be sent to Bethabara, and one to Bethania.

June 2. Br. Fritz has begun to work at his profession, and has moved into the Boys' Room to assist in the supervision of the boys. He crossed the ocean with a gentleman who has a large estate near Charlestown, and this gentleman told him that he would like to have

² The Aeltesten Conferenz met in Bethabara until April 14th, after that in Salem.

Brethren on his estate to preach the Gospel to his negroes. It will be well for Br. Fritz to write by the next opportunity, and send him the English report of the work of the Brethren among the Heathen, in order to see further what the intention of the gentleman may be.

In Friedberg those who have received no Certificate from us refuse to pay the fine to the Captain of their free will; we can do nothing more in the matter, and will leave them to make their own defense for their conduct.

June 16. As Bethabara now has no Helfer Conferenz it was questioned whether the Congregation Council there should not elect a Committee, to take charge of the Congregation Diaconie and to further all that should be done by a Congregation of Jesus. * * * The Congregation Council will elect five Brethren, taking them from both the Married and Single Choirs.

June 25. Little Magdalena Schmidt will enter the Girls' School [in Salem].

July 15. The Committee in Bethabara has elected Jacob van der Merk and Pfeiffer as Stewards; they have also established a Congregation Cash Account.

July 28. In Salem the best place for the Parish God's Acre is on the hill, opposite the Tavern.

Aug. 31. Johann George Aust is looking for land, and will settle near Bethabara or Bethania.

Sept. 28. From letters brought by young Lanius we see that not only is he to take land on the South Fork, on his father's account, but other families from Yorktown wish to settle there. Four families from Carols Manor plan to move to Wachovia, which may lead to the beginning of an English settlement near Friedland.

Henrich Lauer has returned his lot in Friedland to Br. Marshall, the value of the improvements to apply on his debts; Jacob Reid has taken this lot. The older Lauer has also returned his lot to Br. Marshall, and it will be taken by Seitz in March, 1773.

Johann Stotz has become of age. Since he has been living in the Brothers House he has received £4: toward a "freedom suit," toward which a contribution is expected from the Oeconomie.

Oct. 31. Br. Bagge asks that another place be found for Br. Ludwig Meinung, who has been keeping the books for the Administration and for Bethabara in his office at the Store, to the inconvenience of both parties. Conferenz considered that if Br. Meinung should be married he could then move into the house vacated by Br. Enerson, and could there work on the books under Br. Bagge's direction.

Nov. 3. Br. Ludwig Meinung's marriage was discussed, and Sr. Höpfner was suggested for him. * * * The Saviour was asked: "Whether Sr. Höpfner should be suggested to Br. Meinung for marriage?" Answer: "Yes."

Nov. 17. A letter from the Unity Vorsteher Collegium was read. It said that Br. Stach should be given a piece of land, and have his own little establishment, but that is impracticable here for so old a man. He has already arranged to support himself in Bethabara, where he is teaching the children's school, and has a little garden, and he can do other work for which he will be paid.

Br. Enerson will move into the Brothers House at Bethabara, where he will have room and board at the expense of the Salem Diaconie. The Bethabara wagon will come for him and his things the first clear, warm day.

Dec. 1. It is rumored that the Indians intend again to fight against the white settlers; and Col. Rutherford in Rowan County, and Col. Martin Armstrong in Surry County, have received Commissions from the Governor, and have begun to enlist men.

John Binkley, Jr. with his wife and three children, have come from Manakosy, and wish to live for a while in Shause's house in Bethania.

Dec. 8. As Br. Ludwig Meinung has said concerning his proposed marriage with Sr. Maria Magdalena Höpfner that *he* was willing to do that which was suggested for him by the Saviour and the Congregation, so today the matter was made known to her; and as she on the 9th gave an affirmative answer, they were betrothed on the 10th, and it was at once announced to the Communicant Brethren and Sisters.

Concerning pleasure walks it was suggested that on two Sundays the Single Brethren should go across the Wach and toward the mill, and the next two Sundays on the road toward Bethabara. On the contrary the Single Sisters should go toward the Hutberg and Bethabara on the first two Sundays, and across the Wach on the other two.

Dec. 21. After consultation with the Aufseher Collegium the Brn. Marshall and Bagge have decided to go to Newbern after New Year to lay before the Assembly our Petition asking that our Parish be not divided, and also to pay their respects to the Governor. As the wagon will go to Charlestown in February Br. Fockel will be asked to make that trip.

Dec. 29. The four families who have come from Carols Manor to Bethabara have taken 450 acres of land near Douthit, and will settle there. The party consists of nineteen persons.

The Settlers from Carroll's Manor.

[Vol. IX, Proceedings of the Moravian Historical Society, published in 1912, gives an historical sketch of Graceham, Frederick County, Md., written by Rev. A. L. Oerter, the material being drawn from the original Diaries and Church Registers. He states that in 1745 John Henry Herzer, a member of the Moravian Church, came from Pennsylvania to officiate as lay-reader and school-teacher for a community of Germans who had settled on the Manocacy River some fifteen years earlier. Among these was Adam Spach, later the leader in Friedberg on the borders of Wachovia. These Germans had built a church on the banks of the Manocacy, which was used jointly by the Lutherans and Reformed, and in it the Moravian brother also held stated services.

In 1747 the Hon. Daniel Dulany, who had a large estate known as Dulany's Manor, gave to the Moravians ten acres lying two or three miles west of the union church, and about fifteen miles north of Frederick. On "Dulany's Gift," as the ten-acre tract was called, a combined meeting-hall, school-house and parsonage was built in 1749. Among the six ministers who served there before 1758 one was Richard Utley, who was later the successful English Minister and home-missionary of Wachovia, and another Valentine Haidt, the artist-minister who painted the portraits of Br. & Sr. Graff and Sr. Nitschmann, reproduced in this volume. The Moravian *Congregation in Manakosy* was organized on Oct. 8, 1758, and consisted of nine Communicant members, who had belonged to the Unity of Brethren in Pennsylvania before moving to Manakosy, together with seven persons who were Received on that day.

In 1780 thirty acres adjoining the "Dulany Gift" on the west were bought; and in 1782 the first house was built in the village, which in 1785 received the name of *Graceham*. This village lay partly on the original ten-acre tract, partly on the new, and partly on adjacent lots purchased by members, and included the Gemein Haus of the Manakosy Congregation, thereafter known by the new name. Graceham lies on the Western Maryland Railroad, about fifty-seven miles from Baltimore, on the way to Hagerstown, and is still a Moravian Congregation.

A few miles south of Frederick Town services were begun in 1760 for the English residents of Carroll's Manor, and in 1762 Rev. Francis Boehler was located there as the first resident Moravian minister. This was done at the request of Esq. Carroll's agent, Mr. Joseph Johnson, who though not a Moravian had formed a high opinion of the Brethren. Charles Carroll of Carrollton was a Roman Catholic, his grand-

father having fled to America on account of persecutions at the hands of the Protestants in Ireland, but he was a liberal-minded man, and he not only consented to the coming of the Brethren to his estate, but in 1768 gave them ten acres of land, on a ten-year lease, the consideration being "a rose per year." He also contributed forty shillings toward the building of the combined meeting-house and parsonage, which was erected in the fall of that year. The Rev. Joseph Powell was resident minister from 1766 to 1772. After Powell's return to Pennsylvania on account of ill health services were held on Carroll's Manor at intervals by the ministers of Manakosy, but the members nearly all moved to North Carolina, and the work finally lapsed. As the ten acres were held only on lease they doubtless returned to the Carroll estate, though there is no definite information on that point. The following letters of introduction were brought to Wachovia by the families coming from Carroll's Manor in 1772.]

That blessed Man Ezekiel Goslin a little before his Deceas, earnestly laid it on his Soninlaw Dan. Smiths Heart to bring his Motherinlaw with her Family to the Brethren in Carolina

Widdow Eliz Goslin hath two sons, one grown up the youngest about 13 Years Old & a Daughter about 19 also 2 Negro Boys

Dan. Smith & his Wife Catheren have 4 small Children & a single Woman named Eliz. Johnson

Henry Slater & Ann his Wife have 2 Children and her Sister named Mary Owen a single Woman

The 4th Family is Nodley Masters & his Wife Margaret yong people

Each head of these Famillyes have with them Cash to pay for thare Land &c

JOSEPH POWELL.

Carrols Manner July 26 1772.

For

M^r Fra: W^m Marshal

at Bethabara.

it being one of the Brethren

Settlements, in Rowan

County

North Carolina.

D^r & Loving Brother & Sister Marshals

I think ere now you will have hard pr. B^r. Hehl of these 4 Famillyes who herewith intend coming to you. they

are all of & from my hearers on Carols Maner, in number I think 19 all objects of our Saviours Mercy, & we trust, & hope will become his, soul & Boddy. had we not consented for them to come to you, they would not have moved from here, but as soon as we consented that they shud move to you, then none of them was willing first to journey & visit you, & bring good intilligence to the rest, firmly beliving on our Recomendation all things would go well with them on thare arival by the Brethren in N. Carolina. each head of these Famillyes are provided with Cash to purchase Land from you. can you settel them joyning, or near each other, then in time they will become an English settlement, & we hope will hear the Gospel in thare own Tongue, there being others here, who intend to move after them.

This bearer named Daniel Smith, is a verry industrious, Laborius Man, generous, & full of good will, hees the head of this Carravan, or Company, his wife Catherena hath great credit for our Congregation, but yet she hath much to larn. we hartilly recomend her to D^r loving Sis^r Marshal. they have 4 Children, the 3 yongest I have Baptizd.

If its true (as I hear) that you have plenty of Fish, it may be of great use, then this Dan. Smith is a perfect fisherman, also a good Cooper & Tobacco Planter, which buysnis he, & perhaps they all may carry on, if they get land sutable.

we should have liked to have stay.d to have seen these Famillyes set of on thare journey to you, but having on our Importunity leave to move to Bethlehem we choos not to stay so late in the Fall, we being quite old and much impar.d. several yong people move before us to Lititz, & we intend to Lock our Door (for the pressant) & follow them, committing those we leave here to the tender Mercy of our D^r Saviour Amen.

M Johnson & Others who know you joyne us in much tender Affection & love to your Self D^r loving Sister Marshall, Geschw^r Uttleys yea to all known & unknown, from your loving

Old B^r & Sister Powells

Elisabeth Johnson, who is the 7th in this Familly, we earnestly recomend to D^r Sisters notice hoping she may become a single Sister.

D^r Brother & Sister Marshals

This Barer Widdow Goslin is M^{rs} Smiths Mother, she hath in her Familly 2 Negro Boys, one Daughter, & perhaps 2 sons. She hath also Cash to pay for her Land.

her Husband was a real Happy, blessed, Man, who before my time lived on the Pattomock but on our coming here this Widdow moved near us on Account of the Gospel— she is a verry timorous person, inclin.d to reson over none but herself, she hath a remaining Impresion from her D^r. Deces.d Husband

She hath great veneration & love for the Brn & Sisters & we trust that toward our Dear Saviour will increase by her—we earnestly recomend her to D^r Sisters woonted love and care &c—she hath a Daughter here, named Taffena with her Husband, whom she (viz) y^e widdow promis.d us not to take with her, then we in no respect can recomend them to you

with many sallutations Farewell

J. POWELL.

Carrols Maner.

D^r Loving Brother & Sister

This Barer Hanry Slater with his Wife Ann, are also of our people. she is Dan. Smith.s Sister, she is the principle person in this company being in that she is tenderly Attach.d to our Saviour & his members, having a lively cence of her lost State by Nature—he also, thro his Wife, hath been (& still is) much blessed, he is a thorough, laborious, working Man, upright, & good natuer.d—perfectly Avers.d in making Tobacco—they also have Cash to pay for thare Land, & shu.d he fall somthing short in this respect, if hee.s in health he will (by industry) soon pay it &c—We earnestly recomend them to your tender Inspection & Nursing care—believing you will find them Obedient Children, they have 2 little ones thewhich I Baptiz.d &c.

We joyne in much tender love to you both

Jos. & Mar. Powells

N.B. Ann Slator.s sister by Mothers side [i.e. her half sister] named Mary Owen we earnestly recomend to D^r Sisters love and Notice, had she not gone with her Sister to you we shu.d have sent her on a visit to Littiz hoping she will become a Single Sister

D^r Loving Brother & Sister

This Barer Nodley Masters, with his Wife Margaret; she is a Daughter of Widdow Duckitt, who moved from us here, about 6 years agoe to south Carrolina (as we hear) about 150 miles from you &c this yong cupple are not inclin.d to go to her Mother,

hoping earnestly to get Land of you. they also are of our hearers, being well affected towards the Brethren. they also are jenerous & Dilligent, being perfectly acquainted with raising Tobacco, which I belive will be the most Advantagous Imploy. they have Cash with them to pay for what Land they may (desier or) want—we love them much so also can & do recomend them to your tender Nursing care Amen

we joyne in much tender love
to you both & to all known and
unknown, Remain y^r Affectionate

GESW^r POWELLS.

Esq^r Carrols Maner

Minutes of the Grosse Helfer Conferenz, 1772.

[This Board was composed of the Aeltesten Conferenz, the Aufseher Collegium, and five more ex-officio, and nine elected, Brethren and Sisters. It had no executive powers, but was to be "the eyes of the Congregation," presenting to the other Boards anything that in their judgment needed attention. The deliberations, therefore, largely parallel those from which extracts have already been given, but in some instances additional details are given which are worth noting.]

April 27. In the morning at 8 o'clock was the first meeting of the Grosse Helfer Conferenz here in Salem.

In future, instead of the blowing,¹ the bell shall be rung in the morning at 7, then about 11:30, and in the evening about sunset, though not later than 7 o'clock in summer. Br. Koffler will take charge of this, and for the present his assistants will be those who wait on the table in the Brothers House. The ringing shall be with only two strokes, as the sound will be more distinct, and all can more easily do it. Before **Preaching**, and other solemn public meetings, the bell shall be rung somewhat longer, with one pause.

May 4. Concerning the new organ it was agreed that Br. Bulitschek shall receive £10: more than the £32: called for in the contract, since he is making it with two stops.

The married Sisters have established Sick Visiting among themselves, with one general sick-nurse, and other Sisters who will serve a week at a time in turn. These Sisters will have a conference, at which Br. Bonn² will be present to give them instructions.

¹ In the Museum of the Wachovia Historical Society there is a conch shell pierced for a horn. The loud note it makes is probably the *Duden* here referred to, as tradition says the shell was used by the Night-watchman of Salem.

² Bonn was the community doctor, and with an appointed midwife, and this organization among the women, and an appointed nurse among the men in the Brothers House, Salem had a remarkably modern Health Department.

May 11. Concerning the clocks in town, there was discussion as to how they could be kept together, and especially how the hours to be struck on the big bell should be ascertained. It was proposed to make two sun-dials, one on the north and one on the south wall of the Brothers House; Br. Reuter is willing to make them, if the Single Brethren will let the joiner make the tablets.

May 18. A box shall be placed at each of the two doors of the Saal, with the inscription "For the poor."

June 1. The tablets for the "sun clocks" cannot be placed on the walls of the Brothers House, for the roof gives too much shade. A horizontal sun-dial will be made as soon as Br. Reuter has ascertained the noon line.

June 15. Br. Utley will advise Br. Triebel to lay in a supply of tomb-stones, and to say what the price of one will be.

July 6. The sun-dial, made horizontal on stone, will be set in the square on a brick foundation.

Oct. 12. In a Gemein Ort no one can start a business, open a store, or begin a profession,³ until the Congregation has recognized and installed him as a Master-workman. If a business, store, or profession, is already being carried on in the town all other Brethren who wish to work in it, whether they come from Europe or Pennsylvania or grow up here, shall be considered as journeymen under the Master-workman, and shall be personally responsible to him.

Nov. 10. Our Leases are to be considered as brotherly agreements. a) James Hutton and his Attorney⁴ have given Bond that they will dispose of the land which has been sold to Salem Congregation only by wish of the Congregation Boards. b) The man who buys and takes possession of a lot shall be considered the owner thereof, for himself and for his children, and will not be asked to give it up,—that is, not unless he or his children turn away from the Saviour, and behave in such a manner that they cannot be tolerated in a Congregation. Therefore the Lease is for only one year, so that the Congregation is not obliged to keep within it any one who will not follow the Congregation rules. c) In case any one must be sent away the Improvements will be assessed by three Arbitrators, one chosen by the owner, one representing the Congregation, and the third chosen by these two. d) But if any one leaves of his own accord, or wishes to sell his house, the

³ Here, as always in the Diary, *profession* means a handicraft. The secretary uses the English word which is retained in the translation.

⁴ James Hutton, of London, held title to Wachovia, "in trust for the Unitas Fratrum." Deeds and Leases in Wachovia were made by his attorney, Frederic William Marshall.

Congregation is not obligated to buy it, or to guarantee him against loss; but he must himself seek a purchaser,—NB. it must be a purchaser who has permission to live in a Gemein Ort.

Nov. 16. The last General Synod recommended that in all Gemein Orten the Congregation Rules and Regulations should be revised, so that certain statutes might be incorporated as to outward affairs, so preventing harm, and more especially that the Constitution of the Unity in matters spiritual and material might be the foundation for the life of each Congregation.

Such Rules and Regulations were drawn up for Herrnhut; then the Deputies of the Unity's Elders Conference brought a copy to America, and it was revised in Bethlehem in accordance with conditions there. They also made a copy for us here in Salem, which will now be read and considered point by point.

These Rules and Regulations are intended to promote the welfare of the entire Congregation when they are faithfully and carefully followed. To attain this end they must be known by each member of the Congregation, and each member must agree to them willingly, and must sign them,⁵ as a token that he accepts them as the rule for his thoughts and deeds.

Nov. 30. Today we read Article II of the Congregation Rules and Regulations. It was noted:—a) The characteristic of a resident in a Gemein Ort is not only that he loves the Saviour, is inclined toward religious things, and lives as before the Lord, although in the world, for this all Children of God have in common throughout the earth, we with them and they with us. But the resident of a Gemein Ort must also feel that he has had a special call from the Lord to live in that place, and that the Lord has brought him to this people, [viz. to the Brethren].

Dec. 6. The Article concerning Rulers was read.⁶ It was noted that under the English Constitution the real Rulers are the Laws, which are made by the representatives of the people in the Assembly, and are approved by the Governor and the King. These Laws are then so binding that no English subject, not even the King himself, dare alter them, and a new Law is required to repeal them.

Officers of the Law, even in subordinate positions, must be treated with respect by the Brethren on account of their offices, without thinking of their persons.

⁵ No one was received into the congregation unless he was willing to sign the Brotherly Agreement and abide by the Rules and Regulations. Confirmation for the Communion was a separate matter entirely.

⁶ These paragraphs are worthy of note as showing the clear foundation principles held by the Brethren in the midst of the political confusion of the period.

Dec. 13. In English lands Property and Liberty are the two chief principles of the Constitution. All papers drawn by the Brethren must be carefully worded so that they are lawful and will stand in any Court. For this reason the Leases of all residents in the Gemein Ort are made for one year; then after one year a resident can be told to leave if he or his family does not keep the Congregation Rules and Regulations, and can no longer be endured.

Therefore also the Master-workmen must give Bond that they will not treat their apprentices in any manner contrary to the Congregation Rules, nor bind them out to others, nor take them from the Congregation, nor do anything with them which does not accord with the Rules and Regulations of the Congregation.

Bethabara Diary, 1772.

[Br. Johann Michael Graff, Pastor of Bethabara, was a better Diarist than Br. Paul Tiersch of Salem, at least as one reads his record it seems more intimate and less official. Br. Graff gives many details concerning the migration to Salem, as families and Choirs and Businesses packed up and moved out, but as the Salem Diary has chronicled their arrival in the new town it is unnecessary to repeat. Church services, too, are omitted, as they follow the lines familiar from the earlier years in Bethabara. The weather in 1772 was somewhat unusual, and Br. Graff's careful notes regarding that are given in full; and to these items are added all that supplement the records already given for this year, especially those referring to the new County of Surry and its Courts.]

Jan. 6. The mild weather continues; today, indeed, it snowed early, but changed into a warm rain.

Jan. 7. A warm rain this afternoon, but it soon cleared.

Jan. 10. It froze a little last night, but the day is so warm that it will probably rain.

Jan. 13. Br. Bagge, his family, and several other persons, and four wagon-loads of Store goods moved to Salem today. The weather was so favorable that the transfer was happily made.

Jan. 17. This morning Br. Pfaff came to Bethabara to take Br. and Sr. Graff to the School-House Friedberg, where they will speak with¹ the Society Members who have been attending the Communion in

¹ Interviews between pastor and communicant then preceded the Lord's Supper, the object being to assist the member to receive the Sacrament in a properly humble and trustful spirit.

Salem or Bethabara every eight weeks, and who will have the first Society Communion in the School-House tomorrow.

Jan. 20. Br. Ernst, from Bethania, informs us that last evening the elder Fiscus, who has lived behind Bethania, passed away, trusting in Jesus.

For the last few days all the Brethren and Sisters who have visited in Kapp's room at the mill have developed a burning and itching of the limbs, like a Nettle or Weevil Rash. They probably caught it from Kapp's youngest child, who lay sick, for the room was very warm and there was no fresh air in it; but it may have come from the mill, or meal, dust, for Kapps have the same thing nearly every year. It generally comes when the grain is full of weevils, which would indicate that the dust from weevil-infested grain is poisonous.

Jan. 22. The morning was cloudy, but the afternoon clear and warm. With last night the watch on the Square was given up, and hereafter the watchman will only blow his horn about four or five in the morning.

Jan. 24. Many people were here today. Mr. Doff brought a load of salt, but at first made trouble, thinking that the weights which Br. Bagge brought approved and stamped from Charlestown were too heavy. He finally agreed to their use on condition that they should be presented to a Court of this Province for approval.

Jan. 26. In the morning it looked as though it would clear, but about nine o'clock it began to rain, continuing until evening, when it turned into a heavy snow, which continued all night.

Jan. 27. Snowed all day, until it lay half a foot deep; toward night it cleared and froze, making a real winter scene. It was a good thing that the cold weather came now, for the warm weather which has continued all this month has caused the peach buds to swell until they show pink if one opens them.

Jan. 31. Br. Soelle has visited along the south Yadkin this month; among others he met an old South-German man, named von Cleft, who had many questions to ask about the Brethren.

Feb. 1. It snowed all day; the snow is about one foot deep.

Feb. 3. All day there was snow mixed with rain, and everything is very wet.

Feb. 4. Today the sky cleared; the following night was quite cold.

Feb. 5. A sharp breeze from the north-west; it is especially hard on the cattle in the woods, who must be suffering.

Feb. 6. Morning and afternoon there was Diaconie Conference, Br. Kühnast being present, and plans were made for the future of Bethabara. After the conferences Br. Marshall returned to Salem, also Br. Traugott, who has been here since the 2nd, busy with accounts and inventories. They were followed by Br. Lorenz, who took with him the three Brethren from the tailor shop, Zillman, Johann Nilson, and Johann Müller, and the boy Cremser from the shoe shop, who will remain in Salem. Cooking has stopped in the Brothers House kitchen, and all cooking will hereafter be done in the kitchen of the Gemein Haus, and Br. Renner will get the food from there, at noon and in the evening, for the Single Brethren and the day-laborers. So great changes have taken place here today.

Feb. 7. Today it was warm, and the snow became very soft; at night it was cloudy, and did not freeze as it has been doing.

Feb. 9. Last night there was a heavy storm and rain, and today snow water is coming in from all sides, and there would be a flood if the north-west wind did not prevent the snow from melting too rapidly.

Feb. 10. This afternoon, after a hearty farewell, Br. Schaaf moved to Salem. He has been in the laundry here for twelve years, and for the last years has been Saal Diener. In Salem he will carry on the laundry for the Brothers House.

Feb. 11. In a Diaconie conference the contract was considered for renting the grist and saw mill to Kapp and Kastner. For some days there has been a traveling silver-smith at the Tavern, mending articles which were brought to him.

Feb. 12. The weather has changed; this afternoon it began to sleet, then cleared and froze.

Feb. 14. The weather is like spring.

Feb. 15. Last night a storm blew up from the South, with much rain; this evening the strong wind changed to the north-west, with some frost.

Feb. 16. The strong north-west wind continues, and it is bitterly cold.

Feb. 17. Br. and Sr. Meyer moved to the Tavern in Salem, taking their two children, the widow Dixon, the negress and her daughter, the hostler Friedrich, and so much of their baggage as could be loaded on three wagons, though a good deal had to be left behind. In their place Br. and Sr. Schaub moved into the Tavern here, and had twenty-four guests for the night, and hardly enough supplies had been left for so many.

Feb. 18. Br. Bonn passed on his way to the County Court, which will again be held at the house of Mr. Gideon Wright, on the Yadkin. Our neighbor, Mr. Walker, recently reported for truth that a new *Didimus* had been issued, and that the Brethren James van der Merk and Charles Holder were not included; nothing was said about it at this Court, and the two Brethren did not attend. It is probable that Mr. Lanier had the paper but did not produce it, which rather annoyed the other Justices. In the Oath which the Justices must take there has been inserted a clause against the Regulators.

Feb. 19. Yesterday and today the weather has been mild, and the snow which has persisted for fourteen days has finally disappeared.

Feb. 20. Last night rain came from the south, clearing up warm in the morning; toward evening storm clouds blew up from the southwest, and it lightened and thundered, but the strong wind scattered the clouds and it did not rain nor turn cold.

Feb. 21. Today was warm and cloudy; it rained during the following night. People brought many deer-skins to our little Store today; they did not want to go to Salem.

Feb. 22. Today was warm and sultry; there was lightning in several quarters, but the heavy clouds broke and we had only a few drops of rain; then it cleared up warm.

Feb. 25. Last night about one o'clock there was a severe storm from the south-east, with rain and such heavy wind, that all the Brethren and Sisters left their beds. It lasted until four o'clock in a fashion quite unusual for this season of the year; then a strong wind from the west scattered the heavy clouds, and it cleared cold; then a fierce storm came from the north, lasting all day, with some fall of snow,—such a storm as we have not had for a long time.

Feb. 26. George Hauser came in his wagon from Bethania, bringing the Archive closet made by Bullitscheck; here he took on most of Br. and Sr. Reuter's baggage and furniture, taking them to Salem. Br. Reuter left day before yesterday, already, as this week he is to survey 800 acres on the Ens, near Peter Pfaff, for Schütz and Tanner, two Baptists from the Huwaren.

The weather today was mild, but last night and tonight it froze, the breeze continuing from the north-west.

This afternoon Mr. Martin Armstrong, Sheriff, and a gentleman from New Bern, came to our Tavern, and remained over night.

Feb. 27. The New Bern gentleman left by way of Salem, accompanied by Br. Bonn. He had brought the Sheriff an Order that an

Election of a new Assembly should be held on the 10th of the approaching month of March.

March 1. Br. Stockburger's betrothal to Catharine Christman was announced here for the third time after preaching; and this afternoon in Salem the couple was married by Br. Tiersch.

March 2. Br. Stockburger came in the wagon from Salem, and will remain for a time. Br. George Schmidt also brought his foster-daughter, Catharine, now married to Br. Stockburger, to live for a while with us. In the afternoon a Liturgy was held for Br. and Sr. Stockburger; she received the blue ribbon.²

Since the last thunder-storm the weather has been raw; this evening it began to rain, but after midnight changed into snow.

March 3. By noon the snow had melted. Br. Stauber, with his wife and four children, Christian, Franz, Gottlieb, and Elisabeth, came from Friedberg with two wagons, and moved into the former tailor house.

March 4. Today was cloudy, and piercingly cold; the north wind blew together thick clouds. In the afternoon the wind shifted to the south, and it began to snow heavily, continuing into the night.

Last Thursday a German came to our Tavern, claiming that he had lost everything at sea, and was now poor and sick. Br. Fockel, as Armen Pfleger, paid his expenses for a few days at the Tavern, and Br. Bonn gave him some medicine; but he behaved badly, and would not leave. Today, providentially, a constable came to the Tavern, and when the man was rude he threatened to arrest him as a vagabond, whereupon the man suddenly took to his heels.

March 5. There was a strong wind from the north-west, which continued without abatement for twenty-four hours, producing a bitter cold which is unusual for this time of the year.

March 6. The weather is again pleasant.

March 9. Br. Jacob van der Merk's lot was laid off for him on the road to the brick-yard, and he began to set out fruit trees. Br. Stockburger rode out to buy corn for himself and Johann Ranke; there is great lack of corn just now, many people are actually suffering hunger because they have nothing to eat, and have nothing to sell, and can buy nothing, but with most it is the result of laziness.

Toward evening the Brn. Lorenz and Traugott Bagge came from Salem. The latter told various incidents connected with his business at the Court [at Salisbury], which was largely concerned with the

² Blue ribbons tied the white linen cap of a Married Woman, replacing the pink ribbons of a Single Sister.

paying of Fees. Br. Herbst would not swear, so could not appear before the Court. Br. Bagge had an opportunity to speak with Mr. Edwards, Secretary of the Former Governor, concerning the matter of Dobbs Parish, which was not ordered according to our wish in the Assembly. Mr. Edwards thought the chief cause of this was that the Brn. Utley and Muschbach had left too soon, for Col. How did not know enough about the matter to push it well; the Governor also had not liked their leaving, for he wished to have the Brethren at his table so that he might learn more about our Settlement.

March 10. The Singstunde could not be held because of a heavy rain and snow storm.

Today was the election of two Representatives from this County, Mr. Lanier and Mr. Anthony Hampton. No one went from here.

March 11. Last night there was snow and rain; the wind was from east by south. Today was raw and stormy; the wind changed to the west, and drove the thick clouds back, so that one storm of hard snow flakes followed another; then it cleared and froze.

March 12. The Brn. Johann Ranke and Stockburger took two wagons to Abbots Creek this morning to get oats, for corn is very scarce and high, 4 shillings per bushel, which it has not been in many years. Sr. Bonn and her little Jacob, and the girl Enerson, went to Salem today, taking roots and plants from the medical garden here. Toward evening there came another heavy snow-storm from the south-east, and during the night it cleared and froze.

March 13. All day there was a strong west wind, which made the air very cold.

March 16. Br. and Sr. Stockburger moved together into the apothecary house, and will live in the upper room until they go to Salem.

March 19. This afternoon Judge Henderson arrived, accompanied by his brother from Salisbury; and from the Shallow Ford came Mr. Lanier and his store-keeper Harrison. They had a meal in the Tavern, and the Brn. Graff and Bonn showed them over the town, and asked their assistance in our Parish matter in the next Assembly, which they promised; then they went on to the Town Fork, and will be in Hillsborough next Monday for General Court. Judge Henderson remembered that nine years ago he spent several days here with a Mr. Williams, and he was very pleasant to us. Soon after they left there was a rain and snow storm; the wind has changed to the east and is cold.

March 20. Spring began today with a strong, cold wind from north by east, and during the night it froze rather hard.

March 23. Today Br. and Sr. Stockburger moved to Salem, having been here for three weeks in our care, and for introduction into their new condition of life.³

March 30. Since the storm on the 28th it has been raw, and last night there was some frost; today however, it has been clear and warm, and this evening it looks like rain.

April 2. Mr. Lanier has sent Br. Bonn a draft for a Petition to the Assembly asking, in the name of the residents of Dobbs Parish, that the Parish be re-established, and placed as a whole in Surry County. Br. Bonn wrote a polite answer, and asked him to tell us why the Parish had been divided. Lanier evidently fears that we will ask to have the Parish as a whole placed into Rowan County, which would leave Surry County too weak. There was an unpleasant storm from the north all day.

April 4. Today there was an unfortunate occurrence, for as Br. Lung was putting the crupper on his horse the animal kicked him in the chest, so that he vomited much blood. We bled him twice, Br. Koffler coming from Salem just at the right time, for Br. Bonn rode to Friedland this morning. The day was cloudy and raw, it rained a little, then snowed a little, but was too cold to do much of either; it remained cloudy all night, so there was no frost. We hear that on the first of this month there was snow six inches deep in the mountains north-west of us.

April 6. Sr. Marshall came from Salem, and from the Oeconomie supplies she distributed to the families which will now have their separate house-keeping what they need for the beginning, as the Marshalls and most of the Single Sisters will move to Salem. A few of the Single Sisters remain here to help on the farm. Christian Frey, from Friedberg, was here and bought for his brother-in-law in Pennsylvania the 400 acres which were surveyed for the Baptist, Schütz, from the Huwarens, who has not come back, and one hears he has settled elsewhere.

April 7. The weather is clear and warm.

April 10. About sunrise there was frost. The third and last company left the Gemein Haus today, only four Single Sisters remaining here for the present. Within the last days good Bethabara has given nineteen of its dear residents to Salem.

April 11. Br. Merkly baked bread for the last time here today, and this afternoon moved to Salem. Visitors bought all of today's baking

³ Br. and Sr. Graff were Pfleger and Pflegerin of the Married People of all Wachovia.

and more, one man came forty miles, and bought 12 shillings worth at one time; toward the Yadkin and Virginia there is great lack of food. For the present Franz Steup will bake the bread for residents and visitors here; he baked alone for the first time this afternoon. This afternoon there was a terrible storm from the south-west that was almost like an earthquake. Much damage was done to the roofs here and in Bethania.

April 14. Br. Bonn and his family moved to Salem today, Br. Ludwig Meinung also; all have now moved who are to go for the present, and the Congregation here is reduced to 50 members and 12 children, besides one negro who has been bought, and two maids.

April 15. At night there was a warm rain, and no frost.

April 20, Easter Monday. It rained all day yesterday, and today it is clear but with a raw wind from the north-west, and some frost at night.

April 21. The Brn. Blum, Schaub, Johann Ranke, and several from Bethania, went as a Jury to the old Deep River Road, to see whether the changes suggested by Mr. Walker to the last Court would be for the public good, or only for our neighbor's own advantage. The Jury found that Mr. Walker wanted the road to pass by his house, which was not the shortest or the best way for the public, so they did not sign the Return. Today was clear and pleasant.

April 24. There was a light frost last night, and today was stormy and raw; no one remembers so late a spring, there has not been one since the Brethren settled here.

April 26. It is hot and humid for the first time this year.

April 28. A Certificate of membership in the Brethren's Unity was sent to Ludwig Leinbach, so that he need not attend Muster. For some days the weather has been quite warm, the grass is growing nicely, and everything is green.

April 29. The sheriff, Mr. Martin Armstrong, was here to collect the public taxes, which this year are 13 sh. and some pence per person. He spoke to Br. Marshall about a Petition to the Assembly concerning the division of the County, for Mr. Lanier has gone to Virginia without doing anything about it. Br. Johann Ranke went to Bethania to help his brother break land for several days.

May 1. Last month closed with dry, sultry, weather, and this opens the same way.

May 2. During the night there was a hard storm with a good rain, which refreshed the heated and very dry earth.

May 5. During the last days it has rained enough that we can plough.

May 6. One hundred bushels of wheat was measured for Salem, and will be at once ground in our mill. The reason for this is that there is so great a demand for bread that we dare not sell all that is asked for, and there is danger that a party of evil men may storm the mill and carry away the grain. This afternoon Br. Ludwig Meinung came from Salem with the Petition to the Assembly which is to be signed by all the Taxables in Wachovia. It asks that Dobbs Parish remain as a whole, and that Wachovia may be all in one County.

May 12. This was a much disturbed day, for many people were here, most of them for food and drink. Some complained of their need, others were dissatisfied because we would not let them have all they wanted to take away, besides what they ate. If we satisfied all who came we would soon be in the same situation, and that would be truly pitiful, for with economy our little supply can be made to serve many, but it would soon all be gone if we gave every man all he asked for. Br. Graff went today to Bethania, taking Sr. Quest, who held a service for the Older Girls there, and at noon Br. Graff read a sermon to the whole congregation.

May 14. Br. Soelle returned this morning from his visit to Virginia, where he preached at the home of Capt. Roberts and in the neighborhood. He was invited to go further, but could not do it for lack of food for man and beast,—his horse was not fed for three days. The need is greater in Virginia than here; people are beginning to rob and steal.

May 15. Some miles from Bethania Mr. Gideon Wright's wife was thrown from her horse, and broke her shoulder bone. In spite of this she went on foot to Bethania, and stayed there while Br. Bonn was brought from Salem, who bound up her shoulder and took charge of her.

May 17. Yesterday there was a good rain four miles south, but not a drop fell here. Today we had a shower, but only enough to lay the dust, though we were thankful for that.

May 18. This morning a company of gentlemen arrived from Salisbury, some of them being from Charlestown. They visited the Hutberg and our God's Acre, and were pleased with its order. In the afternoon they left, some, including Mr. Martin, the lawyer, on their way to Court, and the others to see the Pilot Mountain.

May 19. Johann Ranke's house beyond the Wiese, or Crooked Creek, was raised today, with the help of Brethren from Salem and Bethania, and from the neighborhood. The Brn. Bonn and van der Merk went to Court at Mr. Gideon Wright's house, returning in the evening.

May 20. It rained hard for half an hour, with some hail. We were all thankful, for on account of the drought many people have not been able to plant corn. Andreas Volk and six of his neighbors from the New Garden Settlement have been to the Allimance, where the battle with the Regulators was fought last year, and have secured 3000 lbs. of flour, at 15 shillings per 100 lbs.

May 21. A man from near the Mulberry Fields came through with a load of flour from Haw River, bought at 16 shillings per 100 lbs. and is taking it to his Settlement, where there is no more food.

May 27. Andreas Volk was given a Certificate which frees him from attending Muster. A number have been issued this year, as the Captains are insisting on it in their districts.

June 4. At last, after long drought, the very dry earth received a rain, and as it fell softly all afternoon it helped, although it did not go deep; we thank the Heavenly Father for it.

June 5. This morning it began to rain again, and continued into the night. The land is not soaked through, but plants are refreshed and can grow again.

June 11. The heat is very oppressive; clouds rise, but pass us by. Adam Spach, of Friedberg, brought 10 lbs. of new oats to the mill, receiving in exchange 6 lbs. of wheat ground into flour.

June 15. This was a busy day, cutting and drying hay, and mowing the oats, which are short and thin on account of the drought. Again there were many visitors in the village, most of them asking for bread, some with lamentations, others with threats that they would come in force and seize our supplies. Br. and Sr. Stockburger came from Salem, bringing their father and mother Christman, from Haw River, who have come on a visit, and who were very friendly.

June 22. The weather has changed from the intense heat, and there have been a few showers, short ones, indeed, but refreshing.

June 23. The Congregation Festival was held in Bethania, in remembrance of the Consecration of the Gemein Saal one year ago today.

June 26. Yesterday there were showers, and last night a good rain, but not enough to make it possible to plough in fallow ground.

June 28. In the afternoon the Communicants met in Congregation Council. For the time five Brethren are to form the Committee here, and as Br. Kühnast is a member by virtue of his office as Br. Graff's first assistant four other Brethren were to be elected by the Council. Each Brother was given a blank ticket, and when Council re-assembled the votes were gathered, and the following were elected: Fockel, Jacob van der Merk and Jonas Nilson from the Married Brethren, and the Single Brother, Pfeifer. Toward evening it began to rain and continued through the night and next day, so that at last the ground is soft enough to plow.

June 30. A wagon loaded with all kinds of provisions went from here to Salem. Br. and Sr. Graff, and Br. and Sr. Ernst of Bethania, also went to Salem to the Conference of all the Arbeiter of Wachovia, which will be held every eight weeks according to the plan made during the Visitation of the Deputies from the Unity's Elders Conference.

July 3. The currants were picked and seventy gallons of currant wine made; there are many berries still on the bushes. At seven in the evening the Committee met for the first time, and Br. Marshall discussed various matters with them, especially the beginning of a Congregation Cash account, to take care of local expenses.

July 9. This morning as one of the reapers put his sickle into the wheat he heard something strike the blade, and looking around he found a large rattlesnake, coiled. It had twelve rattles. Adam Spach's wagon brought new wheat to the mill, and with it came Br. and Sr. Bachhof from Friedberg. The poor folks had no more bread in their house, and their parishioners were in the same situation. They returned with the same wagon in the afternoon, taking a loaf of bread from the bakery here.

July 16. The heat is almost unbearable, as clouds rise and pass by.

July 20. In Bethania Br. Ernst re-opened the school, which had been closed during harvest.

July 22. Toward evening there was a pleasant shower.

Aug. 5. Three wagons arrived at the same time at our mill, with grain to be ground, for on account of the dry weather the small mills have no water.

Aug. 6. Today there was a trial here before the two Justices, James van der Merk and Gideon Wright. Philip Schause, who formerly lived in Bethania, sold the apple trees on his Bethania lot to Wolf, and he sold them to Heinrich Schor; a few days ago Schause took away the apples from the trees, and Schor made complaint that they were stolen

from him. The first point to be decided was to whom the trees really belonged, and whether Schause had a right to sell them; he claimed that Br. Marshall had given him permission, and that his Lease read differently from Schor's, so the case had to be continued to another term.

Aug. 7. The heat is very oppressive. This afternoon there was a heavy cloud, but only a few drops of rain. The ground is very dry.

Aug. 8. Of our new wheat which was threshed for seed one bushel was weighed, and it weighed 65 lbs, the most ever known here.

Aug. 11. Br. Marshall came from Salem, as the Governor was on his way here, via Bethania. He stopped at the mill, and inspected that; took breakfast in Bethania, and looked over that village; and reached here at noon, accompanied by his suite, which consisted of his secretary, Bigglestone, Col. Canning, Col. Nash, who was here with the army last year, and five servants. They were lodged in the doctor's house, visited the Hutberg, and looked about the village; and at two o'clock dined in the doctor's house with the Brn. Marshall, Bonn, Bagge, Graff, and van der Merk. There was much conversation concerning our Settlement and the like, and His Excellency and those who were with him showed that they were much pleased with all that they saw and heard, and they were very lively. The servants, who dined in the Gemein Haus, were especially well satisfied. In leaving, the Governor sent a guinea for service, all offers of payment having been refused. It was easy to see that the industry and good order of our Settlements pleased His Excellency.

Aug. 13. His Excellency could not leave Salem today because one of his horses has strayed away.

Aug. 16. Sunday. There were a number of visitors here for service, among them a man by the name of Free, who was here some years ago with Sauter, whose sister died here last year. Free said, among other things, that Sauter passed away peacefully on Broad River.

Aug. 17. This was a great Court day, with five Justices here. The settlers in this neighborhood, who last year furnished supplies to Gov. Tryon's army, must hand in written bills, and must swear that they were not Regulators,—these will be paid, but others not. The trial of Schause came up again, and Br. Marshall gave his testimony,—that he had promised Schause nothing, at his departure from Bethania, that could in any way affect the future sale of the land. The Justices rendered no decision, but postponed the case to the Court which meets this

week. Toward evening Br. Bonn came from Salem, and joined the session of the Justices, which continued until past midnight.

Aug. 18. Br. Bagge came from Salem with Mr. Buhler, [Pooler] a merchant from Georgia, who had commissioned him to sell certain pieces of land, of which the sheriff, Mr. Armstrong, had sold about 600 acres at auction for sixty and some pounds, without asking anyone. Mr. Buhler will ask a Court of Chancery why the land so sold should not be returned to him. There was a little shower, as there was yesterday.

Aug. 20. A fine day, and six loads of second-crop hay were brought in. Men returning from Court stated that the place for a Court House for this County was to be selected today.

Aug. 21. This was for various reasons a noteworthy day. Br. Bagge and Mr. Buhler returned from Court. The former reported that the Commissioners for Surry County had privately selected the site for the new Court House, namely the place where Need's store stands, which had been bought by Mr. Armstrong, and is on yet vacant land. This place adjoins Mr. Buhler's land, on which they planned to lay out a town, and therefore tried to get it into their hands, but now they must return it to Mr. Buhler. He has offered it to Br. Bagge, who has agreed to buy it, and thus providentially, and without effort on our part, there comes into our possession the land on which, by reason of its location, they wish to build the County Town, and this is in line with the leading of the Lord, Who made known to the Unity's Elders Conference several years ago that we should seek to have the Court House in Wachovia.

Toward noon, quite unexpectedly, the Brn. Matthew Stach and Aust and their wives arrived from Europe by way of Charlestown. They came in two wagons, and the Austs brought two children, one two years old, and the other a three-weeks infant, who was born in the forest on the journey hither. They were received with hearty love, and were lodged in the doctor's house until other arrangements can be made, as according to the letters they brought from the Unity's Elders Conference the coming of each couple was on certain conditions.

Aug. 23. In the afternoon the *Wöchentlichen Nachrichten*, Nos. 9-14, were read to the Communicants. They contained a reference to Br. Stach and his Rosina, saying that several years ago she returned to him as a lost sheep, and he dedicated himself to her restoration, and accepted the suggestion that they settle in Wachovia.

Aug. 24. At seven in the evening it at last began to rain, and continued all night, a soaking rain, such as we have not had since Whit-

suntide. Thank God, vegetation will now revive, and land can be ploughed.

Sept. 4. For the Liturgy, "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," Christian Stauber played for the first time on our little organ, and did it well. The oppressive heat of the past days was cooled this afternoon by a shower.

Sept. 7. Br. and Sr. Graff went to Salem yesterday, and today celebrated there the Festival of the Married People, all except the evening services. They came here in time for Br. Graff to hold the evening meeting, and the closing service of the Choir Year of the Married People of this Congregation, * * * and he mentioned as a subject for thanksgiving that the Saviour had declared that Sr. Rosina Stach should again rank as a member.

Sept. 8. The Choir of Married People here today celebrated their Covenant Day.

Sept. 9. Br. and Sr. Graff went to Bethania to speak with the Married People in preparation for their celebration of the Married People's Festival. Br. Bullitscheck has the new organ for Salem so far complete that one stop can be used, so in the afternoon it was brought into the Gemein Saal, and in the evening Singstunde Br. Graff played on it, giving pleasure to the entire Congregation.

Sept. 12. Yesterday the hot weather was cooled by several storms, which, however, passed with very little rain. Today is so cool that there will probably be frost tonight in some places.

Sept. 15. Br. Matthew Stach held the evening service for the first time.

Sept. 17. This morning the Brn. Marshall, Reuter and Meinung came from Salem, and went with Br. Aust and two other Brethren into the woods, and measured for Br. Aust 200 acres between Heinrich Schmidt and the Bethania lot. We have again had some days of oppressive heat; this afternoon there was a severe storm, but not much rain.

Sept. 18. Br. Marshall went to Bethania yesterday, and today he met Philip Schause, in the presence of the Bethania Committee, to discuss the claims which Schause makes for his improvements in Bethania. The conclusion was that the matter should be settled by arbitration within a month, and Schause chose Gideon Wright, Esq. as his representative, while Br. Marshall selected Esquire Bonn.

Sept. 19. Last night there was an unexpected rain, and toward morning a severe thunderstorm, followed by some rain, though the rain

was heaviest between here and Bethania. Last evening the sky was clear and cloudless, but the weather seems to have changed, for today is cloudy, and there has been rain to the south of us.

Sept. 21. After a long-continued drought we have had a day of warm rain, which continued all night.

Sept. 25. This morning we saw the first frost; the air has been cool since the last storm.

Sept. 28 This morning the Brethren belonging to this Oeconomie took a wagon into the woods to gather grapes. Br. Lung soon returned with an attack of colic. Br. Pfeil carelessly, and in spite of warning from other Brethren, went too near the young horse, which has been recently broken, and the horse struck him with his fore leg, knocked him down, and stepped on his ankle. The other Brethren set it as well as they could, and brought him home in the evening.

At noon a man and a cart arrived at our Tavern, and with him came young Lanius, who several years ago went from here to his father in Pennsylvania. The cart belongs to Lanius. They brought letters addressed to Br. Marshall, and at once took them on to Salem.

Sept. 30. Today Br. Matthew Stach began a school for the local children, taking several boys in the morning, and three girls in the afternoon; may the Lord lay a rich blessing upon them. This evening we began the winter arrangement of services; Br. Marshall held the twilight service, and communicated the news from Br. Mattheus Hehl's last letter, among other things that August Schubert, who left here a few years ago, has died peacefully, fifteen miles from Philadelphia.

Oct. 1. Br. Bonn came from Salem and examined Br. Pfeil's foot, and found that the large bone is either split or splintered, which is worse than a simple break. It was very hot today.

Oct. 17. The arbitrators met yesterday in Bethania, Br. Marshall being present; and according to their decision, £8: was paid to Philip Schause to satisfy his claim for his improvements, deducting the damage he has done the lot. This puts an end to this unpleasant affair. Br. George Holder arrived with a wagon from Pennsylvania, bringing with him Br. and Sr. Casper Fischer and their four children, and the Single Brethren Andreas Glotz and Rose, who were received with hearty love. Br. Holder went on to Salem, and the Single Brethren will follow with the wagon tomorrow; Br. Fischer, however, wishes to settle in this neighborhood.

Oct. 19. In Bethania a little tower was built on the Gemein Haus, and the bell was hung in it so that it could be better heard.

Oct. 24. Br. Lung gave a breakfast to his Brethren, it being his 60th birthday anniversary. They rejoiced with him, and thanked the Saviour for the grace bestowed upon him this year, and especially for two escapes when his life was in danger; and Br. Graff composed a little poem for him.

Oct. 26. Yesterday, last night, and today, it rained, and the meadow bottom land is quite under water.

Oct. 27. Br. Stach held the Singstunde, and Br. Graff played the organ. Toward noon the weather cleared. After sunset there was a fine display of the Northern Lights.

Oct. 30. There was a cold wind, with frost at night.

Nov. 2. There was a hard shower during the morning. Br. George Holder came from the plantation near Salem to look over the land on the Grassy Fork, below Heinrich Schmidt's, where he is going to buy 170 acres.

Nov. 5. The Brn. Michael and George Hauser's and Michael Ranke's wagons came from Bethania, and were loaded with deer skins and chestnuts at our Store, going on to Salem for the rest of the load to be taken to Charlestown. Chestnuts are so plentiful this year in this section that they can be bought for $\frac{1}{2}$ Crown per bushel.

Nov. 8. Br. Casper Fischer went to Bethania again today. He has decided to take the Schause lot, and yet before winter to arrange a dwelling on it.

Nov. 12. It has been warm, but this afternoon there was a heavy rain, which continued into the night.

Nov. 17. For several nights we have had hard frost, and a sharp wind by day.

Nov. 19. The Brn. Bagge and Blum went to Mr. Gideon Wright's, where the Court is at present held. Br. Bagge will see whether some of his [Store] debtors will pay in corn. Today the wind was less cold, being from the south-west; but at night it froze again.

Nov. 22. Sunday. This morning at two o'clock Br. Pfeifer breathed his last in the arms of Jesus; and his departure was made known in the morning by the musicians, and also announced to the Congregation in the first service with the usual Liturgy, following the Church Litany.

Nov. 23. This morning Br. and Sr. Johann Ranke moved to their plantation a quarter of a mile from here, and during the afternoon they were visited by several Brethren and Sisters, who welcomed them into their new house with the singing of verses. At two in the afternoon the remains of our Br. Christian Pfeifer were buried, in the

presence of a rather large number of Single Brethren from Salem, and other Brethren and Sisters from Bethania, and friends from the neighborhood.

Nov. 27. The weather was unusually pleasant. A company of Militia from the Town Fork, on their way to General Muster at Gideon Wright's, passed through, with their new flag and drum.

Dec. 3. Late last evening the brother of Friedrich Künzel, who works in our saw mill, and the brother-in-law of Johann Hein, arrived at Anton Kastner's. Their company consists of four families from Broadbay; they left them 125 miles this side of Charlestown, and came ahead to send wagons from here to meet them.

Dec. 4. The Brn. Steinman and Reuter came from Salem, to measure a piece of land below George Holder's, on which the former wishes to settle.

Dec. 6. Since yesterday it has been very cold.

Dec. 11. Daniel Schmidt, one of those expected from Carols Manor, Maryland, arrived this morning, and the other three families came toward evening, with three wagons and a cart, in all 22 persons. They were lodged temporarily in the lock-smith's shop. Br. Marshall spoke with the men, who would like to settle on Muddy Creek, as they are good fishermen.

Dec. 16. Today was clear, for which we thanked our Father in Heaven, especially on account of the repairs to be made on the saw mill.

Dec 17. Br. and Sr. Jacob Graeter came this morning [from Friedberg], with her daughter Johanna Elisabeth Moll, Br. Steinman's bride. The wedding took place at one o'clock, in the presence of the adult Congregation.

Dec. 24. At five o'clock in the afternoon our children had their Christmas Eve Lovefeast, the children of the Carols Manor families also attending.

Dec. 28. Daniel Schmidt, his wife, four children, and two unmarried women, Johnson and Owen, and Nodly Masters with his family, left here today to settle on the 400 acres they have bought jointly, on this side of Douthit's, near Wachovia. The other men who were able to work went with them, and they will quickly build several cabins.

Extracts from the Friedberg Diary, 1772.

[Written by L. G. Bachhof, reader and school teacher there.]

Jan. 19. Br. Graff preached on the Gospel for the day,—“This beginning of miracles did Jesus,—and His disciples believed on Him;”

then the Communicants had a blessed Lovefeast. * * * The blessed Communion was the first to be held in this Saal; Adam Spach and his wife, and the elderly Sarah Faber, partook for the first time.

Feb. 1. In Bethabara the two sons of the departed Johann Schor, Johannes and Heinrich, were bound to Christian Frey, until they should become of age, and the third son, Peter, was bound to Martin Walk.

Feb. 12. We visited the Volzes. He was not at home, but Tesch and his son were there making shoes.

Feb. 17. The school boys, who can now read fairly well, today began to learn to write.

March 15. After the usual Sunday services, held by Br. Tiersch, the Communicants had Lovefeast, Absolution, and a blessed Lord's Supper.

March 30. Br. Bonn bled us and several others, and visited a few who were sick.

April 3. For two weeks I have not been able to be out on account of a bad cold, but today my wife and I visited at Peter Frey's and Martin Walk's. At both places large and small were coughing and snuffling. This has been a very unhealthy spring, and it is hard to find a house in which there are not one, two, or three in bed with cold on the chest and fever.

April 17. Good Friday. The story of Passion Week was read to the Society in four sessions.

April 19. On account of bad weather the Easter Liturgy could not be held on God's Acre, but was prayed in the Saal, before preaching.

April 20. There was no service here as most of the men have gone to Salem to Vestry Election.

April 25. We had the Gemein Tag which could not be held on Easter Monday. Peter Frey was elected Steward in place of George Hartman.

May 14. With the approval of Br. Graff, George Hartman yesterday called on Capt. Zappfenfeld,¹ and in the name of this Society made inquiry concerning Muster. He today reported to me that the Captain had said that those who did not attend the last Muster must pay the

¹During the Revolutionary War Capt. Zappfenfeld (Sappingfield) was a Tory. He was one of those called by Gen. McDonald to raise the King's Standard in North Carolina. In April, 1776, a Committee of the Provincial Congress reported concerning certain prisoners, and among them was Capt. Matthias Sapinfield, of Rowan County, a freeholder, who had taken the Test, and had signed the Association, but in spite of this had led seven men into the Loyalist army which was defeated at Moore's Creek Bridge. In August, 1777, he was still a prisoner. In 1784 his name appears among those whose property had been confiscated. *Colonial Records*, Vols. X, XIX, XX.

usual fine of 2 sh. 8d. But when Br. Hartman explained the case it was agreed that those who had no lawful excuse should pay 1 sh. each.

May 17. After service Br. George Hartman reported to the Society the results of his interview with Capt. Zappfenfeld. Some were not satisfied, and it was decided to draw up a Petition, which was sent to the Captain by Adam Spach. When George Frey and Johann Nicholas Boeckel heard that the Captain was in Salem they too rode thither to discuss with him what George Hartman had said. Fredrick Boeckel withdrew from the Society some weeks ago, but now he has signed the Petition as a member,—he was told that if he wanted the benefits of the Society he must also share its burdens and pay his part of its expenses.

May 24. After service the men remained in the Saal, and Frey and Boeckel openly accused George Hartman of having mismanaged the matter with Capt. Zappfenfeld, and having misstated the facts. Hartman said that if they did not wish to believe him he would give them a written statement of what he had said.

May 31. After service I read to the men of the Society Capt. Zappfenfeld's letter to me, in which he cleared George Hartman from their charges.

June 1. Nicholas Boeckel and George Frey came to the School-House complaining about Zappfenfeld's letter. I told them they would have to settle the matter with him.

June 6. Martin Walk brought me 20 lbs. flour, all that he can give now. Flour is very scarce, and many have not even corn meal. John Müller brought us a piece of venison, which was very welcome, as we have had no fresh meat for a long time.

June 16. Harvest time has come, so the school will be stopped for a while.

June 30. My wife and I, also Br. and Sr. Ernst from Bethania, were in Salem for Aeltesten Conferenz for the first time.

July 23. Johann Nicholas Boeckel told me that he had sold his plantation on the Reedy Creek to a Dunkard, and has taken 250 acres in Wachovia from Br. Marshall.

Oct. 5. The boys' school began again today; and the girls' school on the 6th.

Nov. 25. I heard that the Stewards from here have asked Br. Marshall for a change in the school.

Dec. 1. I sent a letter to Br. Marshall, protesting against the requested change in the school, according to which boys and girls would attend at the same time.

Dec. 6. Br. Marshall met with the Society to discuss the school matter, and, in spite of all representations, we had to agree that the custom of the Pennsylvania country congregations should be adopted, and that boys and girls should attend together.

Dec. 7. A beginning was made with the new school arrangement, eight little boys and nine little girls attending. I seated the reading boys and girls on one bench, and the writing and A. B. C. children on the other. At dinner I seated the children of each family together at the table, sang a grace for them before and after the meal, remained with them while they ate, and appointed one little girl to bring water and pour it for them, and to clear the table afterwards. Then they all wanted to pick cotton until time for school to begin again; and so today all went smoothly and in good order. A class for the older boys was begun in the evening.

Dec. 9. Two older girls joined the reading and writing school.

Dec. 25. After preaching, the children had a Lovefeast, and sang happy hymns to the Infant Jesus. An apple and little verse were also given to each of them.

*Memorabilia of the Congregations and Societies of the Brethren
in Wachovia.*

[Translated in full.]

At the close of this year, 1773, the Congregations and Societies of the Brethren in Wachovia review with thankful and humble hearts the grace and guidance of the Saviour, Who has more fully made known His purposes for them during this year.

Although we have realized our shortcomings and errors, in larger and in smaller matters, His call of grace has encouraged us to be His people, His property, and to join with the entire Unity of Brethren in an endeavor to live according to His mind and heart, and amongst ourselves and around us to further His thoughts of peace. For the past two years it has seemed that the division of Wachovia would disturb our freedom to conduct our Church affairs according to the customs of the Unity. Our dear Brethren, Marshall and Bagge, therefore made the journey to New Bern,—Jan. 11th, to Feb. 20th,—to present to the Government and to the Assembly a Petition from the residents in Wachovia, and as their representatives to do their utmost that Wachovia remain one Parish, belonging to one county only. The Lord granted that these Brethren found favor with those in authority, and carried out their commission with success and blessing. Wachovia, therefore, remains one undivided Parish, confirmed by a new Act of Assembly;¹ and is placed as a whole in Surry County. The Freeholders met on Easter Monday in Salem for their Parish Meeting, elected twelve Vestry Men, and after the Vestry had been installed by Br. Bonn, as Deputy Sheriff, it elected the Brn. Reuter and Spoenhauer as Church Wardens.

A still more significant manifestation of the Saviour's direction of His Brethren's Unity in Wachovia is that during the twenty years which have passed since the Brethren settled in the virgin forest He has wonderfully led, guided and blessed them, so that they now have three town Congregations and one country Congregation, each conducted in its own way, and self-sustaining. A further proof of His

¹ *Colonial Records*, Vol. XXIII, page 906, gives "An Act for annexing the North Part of Rowan to the County of Surry, and the further Establishing and erecting the Parish of Dobbs into a separate and distant Parish." Dobbs Parish was Wachovia; the rest of Surry County was the Parish of St. Jude; Rowan was the Parish of St. Luke. Commissioners to run the line between Rowan and Surry counties were: Griffith Rutherford, Anthony Hampton, Robert Lanier, John Braby, and Christian Gottlieb Reuter.

New-Born August 16th 1773

Sir

At length I have procured a Map
of this Province, and I have now the pleasure of presenting
it to you, and of fulfilling my long made promise.

I hope Sir, you continue to enjoy your
health, and that the worthy Brethren of Wethers
prospect to your wishes; and to their great blessings.
My sincerest good wishes attend you, & the Brethren;
and I am with great esteem

Sir

Your most Obedient

humble Servant

J. Martin

Federick Marshall Esq.

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR JOSIAH MARTIN
Accompanying a gift of the Collet Map of North Carolina

approval has been given this year, for by His direction our dear Br. Graff was ordained Co-Episcopus in Bethlehem, and on his return the Brn. Bachhof and Ernst were ordained Deacons, and the Srs. Bachhof, Ernst and Elisabeth Bagge were ordained Deaconesses. This first ordination in Wachovia, which took place in Salem, Oct 17th, will never be forgotten by the Brethren and Sisters who were present. Since then each of our Congregations has had its own ordained minister, to serve it with the preaching of the Gospel, and with the Sacraments. The Saviour has directed that each Congregation is to be independent in its own affairs, but all shall be bound together in the bond of love and peace, and shall be conducted according to the customs and rules of a godly congregation. That these may be maintained, the Provincial Elders Conference has been organized, and the Brn. Marshall and Graff chosen from its membership to be pastors of all the Congregations in general.

Our Bible readings, sermons by the Jünger and the Brethren of the Unity's Elders Conference, addressed to congregations and to Choirs, have fed our poor hearts with His merits and His sufferings, as blessed spiritual nourishment; and the Holy Spirit has confirmed the witness of the Brethren concerning the Sufferings and Death of Jesus, and has blessed it to us and to those about us.

The Gemein Nachrichten from our Congregations among Christians and heathen, from the witnesses and messengers to all the four corners of the earth, the reports of grace and blessing in many Diaspora groups, all these have made our Gemein Tage days of real blessing, and have induced our Brethren and Sisters to contribute not only to missions among the heathen but also to the needs of the Unity itself.

Days of rejoicing and refreshment for our hearts have been the festal days of the Unity, as also Christmas and the Passion season, which are observed by all Christians, everywhere, but have been used by the Saviour and his Spirit for a special work of grace in the Renewed Unity of Brethren.

But above all else we hold the remembrance of the sacramental presence of our beloved Saviour, as the Congregations and the Choirs partook of His Supper.

So He Who watches over Israel has watched over us and all our Congregations. He has given His angels charge concerning our Brethren on their journeys to New Bern, Pennsylvania, Charlestown, and Cross Creek, and has safely brought to us those coming from Europe and Pennsylvania.

He has blessed the sweat of the brow and faithfulness in handicraft and business, so that we may thank Him also for our material support and subsistence.

Now follows the Memorabilia of each separate Congregation and Society.

1) Through many powerful evidences of grace, and through earnest warnings and corrections, the Saviour has taught the Congregation of SALEM the truth of the Text drawn for it by the Unity's Elders Conference: "See now that I, even I, am he, and there is no god with me: I kill, and I make alive; I wound, and I heal; neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand." And as the Collect says "Death, Sin, Satan, are subject unto Him, and Life and Grace are in His hands," so He can save all who turn to Him. And during the past year He has made known to us that He Himself has watched over us, so that the true spirit of Christ and of the Unity, in which the life of a Congregation subsists, has been obtained and made dominant among us; and that He, as Shepherd and Elder, has nourished His congregation, and maintained for them an undisturbed existence. That which threatened disturbance and distress He revealed in time, and brought it to naught. And while we are fully agreed that not one of us can set forth a reason why Jesus should love him, we know that from the bottom of our hearts we desire an humble consciousness of sin, a heart living and burning with the thought of Jesus' Blood, so that the spirit of Laodicea may not creep in among us, that we may not be bodies devoid of life. We are convinced that this is His wish for us, for He has not yet permitted the Hourly Intercession to be begun in Salem, and has laid it upon us that we should worship Him in spirit and in truth, that we should study our hearts in the school of the Holy Spirit, and daily and hourly rest upon the merits of His Atonement, as the foundation of a people of God, and so attain to all the blessings, liturgies, and privileges of a Congregation of Jesus. Through the grace of the Saviour a desire for this has manifested itself in all the Choirs, and the Holy Spirit has led Brethren and Sisters to beseech the Lord to give them new spiritual life. Our Brethren of the Aeltesten Conferenz and Aufseher Collegium have done many things to further this; and the Grosse Helfer Conferenz was moved by the reading of the reports of the English Provincial Synod to pray: "O Lord, restore Thy people here to their first simplicity and singleness of purpose, and according to Thy will lead them to give joy to Thy heart."

The Rules and Regulations for the Orts-Gemein having been read and discussed in the Congregation Council, they were signed, on the 12th of May, by all officers of the Congregation and of the Choirs, by

all Master-workmen, by all house-fathers, and by the Curator of the Single Sisters in their name.

Since Br. and Sr. Graff have moved to Salem he has been made Gemein Helfer, and has been heartily welcomed by the Congregation.

Br. Aust has become Saal Diener in place of Br. Prätzel, and Sr. Miksch has become one of the Saal Dienerinnen.

The Married People rejoice that Br. and Sr. Graff, their Choir Pfleger and Pflegerin, have come to live here, and will take them into their especial care. The Saviour has blessed their Choir meetings with His presence, and with the respect which He, as Creator and Restorer, has granted to this condition of life. Their Choir Festivals and Communion have been filled with grace for the twenty married couples of this Choir. The Married Sister, Anna Eva Beroth, went peacefully home some weeks after giving birth to a daughter, and her remains were interred on our God's Acre, the first in the square for Married Sisters.

Our two Widows, who have been joined by Sr. Christina Merk, from Bethabara, have experienced in their Choir Festival, and throughout the year, that the Saviour is their Friend, their Comfort, and their Support.

The Single Brethren celebrated their Choir Festival in the presence of the Prince of their Choir, closing it with the Holy Communion. Five Youths were received into the Choir, two Single Brethren have come from Pennsylvania, and two Boys have moved hither from Bethabara. On their Doctrinal Day, April 30th, they were told that their faithful Pfleger, Br. Lorenz Bagge, had received a call to another office, and that the Brn. Nils Petersen and Gottfried Präzel would now jointly serve as Pfleger, and these two Brethren were then installed, and shared the Cup of Covenant with the Choir. On Dec. 4, four Brethren arrived from Europe, among them Johann Casper Heinzmann, who became Vorsteher of the Choir; they were received with joy, and the Text for the day and the felt presence of the Saviour were added encouragement. From this Choir our dear Br. George Soelle passed into the joy of his Lord; he was a true servant of the Saviour, humble and redeemed, successful in his work, beloved and respected by his Brethren. His remains were interred in our God's Acre, in the presence of a large company of Brethren and Sisters, and many outside friends, to whom he had often preached.

Our Youths and Boys had their Festival on Jan. 10th, and four Children were received into the Choir. The Saviour has blessed the doctrinal instruction given to them.

The Choir of Single Sisters has been somewhat increased by the reception of two Older Girls. In their Choir meetings, and especially in their Choir Festival and Communion, the Saviour has made Himself known as the Bridegroom of their souls, and has blessed them with His presence. Five Single Sisters have been admitted to the Communion. Sr. Christina Jord moved to Bethabara to help on the farm there; Sr. Anna Johanna Graff came from Bethabara with her parents, and has moved into the Choir House.

The Older Girls have shared in the Choir grace of the Single Sisters, and have felt, especially on their Choir Festival, March 25th, that the Saviour's eye has rested graciously upon them. One of them has gained the high privilege of becoming a partaker in the Lord's Supper.

Our Children's Choir has this year been increased by two boys and two girls, all baptised soon after their birth, and so made a part of His Congregation. One of these, Maria Rahel Bagge, lived only three months, and was then transferred by the Saviour into the heavenly Choir. During this year the Saviour has blessed their Choir meetings, Festival, and especially their schools, so that they have been lovable and pleasant, and have increased in knowledge and in grace.

The Congregation consists of 40 Married People, 3 Widows, 41 Single Brethren, 9 Youths and Boys, 17 Single Sisters, 4 Older Girls, 9 Little Boys and 7 Little Girls, a total of 132, of whom 100 are Communicants.

2) BETHABARA. After Br. Graff moved to Salem, having served this Congregation with grace and blessing for ten years, Br. Lorenz Bagge was called to the service here, and during his visit to Pennsylvania with Br. Graff he was married, in Lititz, to Sr. Elisabeth Burstler. They were introduced to the Congregation as soon as they arrived, and took charge when Br. and Sr. Graff went to Salem. On Aug. 27th the Hourly Intercession was again begun by the Communicants.

The Married Choir has been increased by Br. and Sr. Lorenz Bagge; Br. Johannes Schaub has been married to Sr. Johanna Leinbach, and they have taken charge of our Tavern in place of his father and mother, who asked to be relieved because of age and feeble health. The Married Brother, Jacob van der Merk, has ended his life here, and has been transferred by the Saviour into the kingdom of those who will never again be sick. He had served this Congregation as a member of our Committee, and the public as Justice of the Peace. The Brn. Blum and Lung have become members of the Committee in place of the departed Brethren, van der Merk and Pfeifer. The Married Sister, Gottliebe Kastner, died in childbirth, trusting in the grace and mercy of the Saviour.

The two Widows and two Widowers of Bethabara, together with four Widows from Salem and Bethania, celebrated their Choir Festival here, and in the Lovefeast counted 100 of their children and grand-children present, most of them under the care of the Unity. Soon after, the old mother, Margaret Zynn, blessedly ended all her pain and sickness.

Two Children have been born, and baptised into the death of Jesus. A new work of grace of the Holy Spirit has been seen among the children, and a Children's Meeting has been begun for the older ones.

The Congregation of Bethabara consists of 25 Married People, 2 Widows, 7 Single Brethren, 3 Single Sisters, 1 Older Girl, and 16 Children, total 54, of whom 33 are Communicants. Besides these there are several boys and older girls living in the families of members, and we trust that they also will become the property of the Saviour.

3) BETHANIA. Just on our Congregation Festival, June 23rd, we received the Text which the Unity's Elders Conference had drawn for Wachovia, and it was at once made known to the Bethania Congregation: "That which ye have already hold fast till I come." During this year the Saviour has shown His grace and mercy to this Congregation, and has blessed our Festivals, Liturgies, and Services, and has revealed Himself to our hearts as our faithful and merciful Lord, and permitted that on Aug. 27th the Hourly Intercession might be established here for the first time, with most of the Communicants as members, their prayer being: "O help us to watch day and night, and guard this treasure."

It appears that Satan, through his agents, sought to lead some astray, to disturb the Congregation in its life of grace, and especially to lead the young from their call of grace, so that they might exchange their inheritance and rights in the House of God for the vanities and pleasures of this world, which would harm their souls and bring them great unhappiness. But our faithful Lord revealed the danger, and permitted none to remain in His Congregation who would lead the young astray, but separated them from His people, and brought back all the poor souls who had been tempted.

In the spirit of all true Congregations of God, we have been strengthened by various days of grace, especially in the Communions, which since Br. Ernst's ordination have been held on the same days as in other Congregations, and in the Gemein Tagen, particularly that on which the Married Brother, Peter Feiser, was received into the Congregation.

Five children have been born, 1 boy and 4 girls, of whom one has since died.

In Bethania there live 36 Married People, 2 Widows, 3 Single Brethren, 8 Older Boys, 12 Older Girls, and 47 Children, total 108, of whom 36 are Communicants. Communicants and Received living outside Bethania number 18, with 35 children.

4) FRIEDBERG. Since the Society here, and especially its Communicant membership, has been made a Country Congregation, the Brethren and Sisters, Christoph and Aaltje Ellroth, and Daniel and Catharina Smith, have been Received, and the little Congregation has anew experienced the grace of the Saviour.

The youth, Christian David Hartman, being very ill, experienced a powerful working of the Holy Spirit in his heart and being unbaptised he greatly desired that Holy Sacrament, which was administered to him by Br. Lorenz Bagge, Feb. 11th, in the presence of many Brethren, Sisters, and children; and soon thereafter, Feb. 20th, the Saviour removed him from all the trials of earth to His eternal safety.

Three boys and five girls were born and baptised. The Congregation consists of 20 Communicants, who, since Br. Bachhof's ordination, have the Lord's Supper at the same time as in other Congregations; further, there are 4 Received, and 21 Society members. Their children, numbering 113, are an especial object of prayer, that they may share in the grace and blessing of their parents, that they may be redeemed by the Blood of Jesus, and may be received into the Congregation by Holy Baptism. Keep them before the altar of your heart.

5) FRIEDLAND SETTLEMENT. The house-fathers here have renewed their allegiance to their Rules and Regulations, in the presence of Brn. Marshall and Soelle, and four new signatures have been attached. Their new School-House has been so far completed that Br. Soelle could preach there twice before his death; and since then they have been served by various Brethren, especially Br. Valentine Beck and Br. Fritz, so that the usual Sunday services have been held once a month.

6) Br. Fritz has visited and preached twice on the HUGH WARREN; and those who formerly listened to Br. Soelle on BELEWS CREEK have been visited by Br. Lorenz Bagge. About once a month Br. Utley has held services on this side of and beyond the ATKIN, especially in Timber Ridge Meeting House, where he has preached the Gospel to two hundred or more hearers. And as he has responded to their invitations, and has visited here and there in their homes, he has seen that the Holy Spirit is working in their hearts, though he has perceived with sorrow that many have willfully hindered the work of grace in their souls. In the latter part of October he made a journey to NEW

RIVER, in Virginia, having been invited by residents to visit and preach there. The path thither was almost impassable, the land very rough, with a little farm here and there between high rocks and steep mountains. He found one opportunity to preach to the Germans, and preached twice to the English, and not without making a blessed impression.

7) Concerning WACHOVIA and its inhabitants in general it should be noted that this year the Saviour has given visible proof that He has taken possession of this land, and has brought hither a goodly number of new residents, some who have known the Unity or have belonged to it, others who long for the kingdom of God, and desire a knowledge of the Saviour. We wish for all fathers and mothers, and their children, that He may let them feel that His heart is full of love and pity, that they may answer His gracious call, and may share our faith in the Atonement of Jesus Christ, and the salvation which He has gained for us.

From the Bagge MS.

In August, 1772, Governor Martin made a trip up into the country, coming also to Wachovia. He stayed five days in Salem, was pleased with what he saw in our town, and promised that in the next Assembly our wish should be granted [concerning our Parish and County]. In January, 1773, Br. Marshall, accompanied by Br. Bagge, went to Newbern to present the Petition of the Brethren to the Assembly. They found the Governor in the same frame of mind, and he took the Petition from Br. Marshall's hand, and asked the honor of sending it to the Assembly with a message, which he did through his Secretary, while the Assembly was considering what answer they should give to the Governor's address. But this did not help our cause, for those who set the other boundaries were there, and had not changed their desire to injure the Brethren, and so the Petition was received, read, and laid on the table. The two Brethren laid their wishes before friends, neutrals and opposers, as far as they could, and it was manifest that every careless or ill-considered word or deed of an individual Brother was held against the entire Settlement, and made an occasion for false accusations; indeed, all our affairs, material and spiritual, were painted by many in the most unpleasant colors. But others now learned the truth, and became favorable to the Brethren, if they had not already begun to change. After a long wait a Bill to enlarge Surry County was introduced in the Assembly, read the first time, and passed. But it should be noted that such a Bill in its first reading is only a

draft, in which the boundaries are left blank. The Brethren, while awaiting the fate of the Bill, continued their efforts in every possible way,—the time seemed long to them. At last, on Feb. 5th, it was read for the second time; before this was done some of the gentlemen looked very grim, but a majority prevailed in favor of the County and of Wachovia. Then the Bill, according to the custom of the time, was taken to the Council for a second reading. When the Assembly adjourned that day strong opposition to the Bill developed, especially on the part of *one* man, who vowed that he would leave no stone unturned to kill it; and it may be believed that he and others did their utmost. The same day the Governor's Secretary (on purpose) dined with the Brethren in their quarters, and told them everything. The Bill remained in Council, no one knew exactly why; but finally the Brn. Marshall and Bagge were summoned to appear before the Council, where they found the members from Surry, Rowan, and Salisbury, who had all been called. Mr. James Hasell was presiding. [President Hasell was, as ever, the unchanging friend of the Unity. *Marshall's Report to U. E. C.*] He opened the matter, and the members debated it; then the President asked Br. Marshall in which County he thought we would prefer to be. Br. Marshall answered: "The Brethren, in their Petition, left that to the decision of the Assembly and Council, but if they were to choose, he thought it most natural that we should be placed in that County where most of Wachovia already lay, and that would be Surry." "Good," said the President, and closed the hearing; and the same day the Bill passed Council for the second time, unaltered. Then machinations were begun to defeat it on its third reading. The Brethren did not know all the details, for now for the most part they remained quiet, trusting in God to bring the matter to pass, but they heard various accusations,—for example, that the Brethren would have their own government in Wachovia, that they were a lazy, useless people, who ate five times a day, that they harbored runaway negroes, etc. Finally the opposition schemed to add a clause, at the third reading of the Bill, providing that Rowan should receive a part of Mecklenburg, in place of what was given to Surry; and that Mecklenburg should take part of Tryon. The Assembly would not have agreed to this, and it would have killed the Bill, for it was contrary to custom to add a clause at the third reading, and the Governor could not have given his consent to such a mutilation of the Counties. When the Brethren heard of this trick they protested against it, and in spite of all kinds of rumors the plan was finally dropped, and on a Saturday in February the Assembly passed the Bill for the third time

without further opposition. The Brethren were assured of the approval of the Council and Governor, so, happily and thankfully, they set out for home. This placing of Wachovia into Surry County proved of great benefit to the Brethren during the following war times, for it took them from under the control of the Presbyterians, (who were very strong and hot in Rowan,) and in large measure freed them from the commands of the officers of that County. In Surry, God gave us chief officers who did not willingly permit anything to injure the Brethren. The Brethren who lived across the boundary of Surry, in Rowan County, had much more to bear.

Extracts from Salem Diary, 1773.

[The chief characteristic of the Salem Diary for this year is its multiplicity of abbreviations! Often three, four, or more words in succession are represented by one or two letters only, and this primitive short-hand would make reading difficult for any one not accustomed to the phraseology in vogue. Apart from this the script is legible, and the entries concise, and largely concerned with the religious affairs of the Congregation, which have already been sufficiently presented in the Memorabilia. A few paragraphs are translated which give additional information.]

Jan. 1. The Brn. Marshall and Bagge left today for Newbern, as the Assembly has been called by the Governor to meet on the 9th of January.

Jan. 4. The Brn. Marshall and Bagge returned today, having heard en route that the Assembly has been postponed to Jan. 18th.

Jan. 11. The Brn. Marshall and Bagge left again for Newbern.

Jan. 19. Br. and Sr. Graff brought Br. and Sr. Ludwig Meinung to us, and they moved into their new house, aside of Br. Aust.

Jan. 31. The Diener, Musicians, and members of the Aeltesten Conferenz, had a Lovefeast, during which Br. Tiersch read a [fifteen stanza] poem.

Feb. 20. Our dear Brn. Marshall and Bagge returned in good health from Newbern, having successfully carried out their commission, with the blessing of the Lord. The Governor and President Hasel proved themselves true friends of the people of God, and the former sent the *Petition of the United Brethren in Wachovia* to the Assembly, with a recommendation. It was twice read as a Bill in the Lower House, and passed; and when it was to be considered for the second time in the Upper House, that is, in the Council, not only our Brethren, but also

the Assembly Men from Surry and Rowan were summoned, as Surry was asking to be enlarged, and their Petition and ours were brought in as one Bill. When it had been determined that our Parish should not be divided, and that the whole of Wachovia should belong to Surry County, it finally passed the Lower House for the third time, Feb. 13th, without opposition. As there was no danger of trouble in the Upper House, and no doubt as to the Governor's approval, he and the friends who had helped in the matter agreed to the departure of our Brethren, and they reached home so well and happy that we all rejoiced together that we were again united.

Feb. 28. Gideon Wright's eldest daughter, Sally, came to Salem today, and received permission to stay for a few weeks with Br. and Sr. Reuter.

March 4. Congregation Council met at seven in the evening, and it was proposed to them, (1) that the Rules and Regulations for the Orts-Gemein Salem should be read carefully and discussed; (2) that we continue to insist that on Sunday nothing should be sold to members or visitors, except in cases of sickness, or of travelers who were in great need; (3) that the Taxables of Salem should pay 5 sh. each to Br. Schmid, the Road Master, and should thereby be released from two days of road work, the money to pay the £13: Proc. still due on the new bridge; (4) the report of the Fire Inspection Committee was read.

March 8. The Brethren and Sisters of Congregation Council took up the Rules and Regulations, meeting each evening until the 12th. It was felt that the spirit of the Congregation was in harmony therewith, and they were accepted as our Congregation Principles.

March 21. The Brn. Marshall and Soelle were in Friedland, where the Rules and Regulations were reviewed, and Gröhn was elected as assistant to Michael Rominger in the Stewardship.

March 30. The new road to Belooos Creek was opened, and a bridge built across the Lech.

March 31. Today was the first meeting of the Provincial Elders Conference, which consists of the Brn. Marshall, Graff, Tiersch, and Uteley, and the Srs. Marshall and Graff. The Saviour was graciously near them, and let them feel His peace, as Br. Marshall read the letter from the Unity's Elders Conference to them.

April 4. Br. Marshall was in Friedberg, and in a Society Love-feast announced that henceforth Friedberg would be a Country Congregation, and that in future those who wished to partake of the Com-

munion with them would first be Received into the Congregation. In a meeting of the Society members Br. Tiersch preached, and then Christoph and Aaltje Ellroth were Received with the kiss of peace. In closing, the Communicants partook of the Lord's Supper.

April 7. Br. Reuter, who was appointed by the Assembly to run the line between Rowan and Surry Counties, was called by the Commissioners eight days ago, and took Br. Miksch along to help him. [The Act of Assembly appointed Br. Reuter one of the Commissioners to run the County Line, and it took him from the beginning to the middle of April, as he was the only surveyor. *Marshall's Report to U. E. C.*]

April 11. At five o'clock in the morning the Congregation met in the Saal, and went from there in procession to God's Acre,¹ where the Easter Liturgy was prayed, and the Brn. Pfeifer, Merk, Christian Daniel Hartman, and Sr. Zynn, who have gone home from Wachovia since last Easter, were remembered, together with all the other members of the Unity who have been called away.

April 12. All Freeholders of Dobbs Parish met in Salem. Br. Bonn, Justice of the Peace, had been appointed Deputy Sheriff by Sheriff Armstrong, and conducted the Meeting; Br. Meinung acted as Clerk. New Vestry Men were elected, as follows:—Brn. Bagge, Meyer, George Holder, George Schmid, Blum, John Ranke, Grabs, Spoenhauer, George Hauser, Michael Hauser, Binkley, and Pfaff. Br. Bonn administered the oath to these twelve, and to the Church Wardens, Reuter and Spoenhauer, elected by them, and then they held their first conference. It was considered good for the Parish that a Parish God's Acre should be laid out in Salem, and that the one near Bethabara should be put in good order.

April 25. Br. and Sr. Tiersch were in Friedland today, where public service was held in the new School-House for the first time.

May 4. At 11 P.M. our dear Br. Soelle passed from his room in the Brothers House into the joy of his Lord, "As gladly as a man to his marriage," as he himself expressed it.

May 5. In the evening his departure was announced to the Congregation, and an appropriate Liturgy was sung, with sweet musical accompaniment.

May 6. At two in the afternoon Brethren, Sisters and friends gathered from many places for his funeral. Br. Utley preached in English on the words of Simeon: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant

¹ This was the first Early Easter Sunday Morning Service on the Salem Graveyard. The first burial there was in June, 1771, and on Easter Sunday, 1772, it rained, and the service had to be held in the Gemein Saal.

depart in peace," and read an English translation of Br. Soelle's Memoir. Br. Tiersch led the burial Liturgy.

May 9. In the second service Br. Soelle's Memoir, Diary,² and poems were read to the Congregation.

May 15. The Brn. Martin Ebert, Marcus Hoens, and Niels Lund, arrived from Pennsylvania, bringing letters and Nachrichten. The two former came to buy land; but Lund will remain here.

May 22. At the end of the week four more families came from Pennsylvania to settle in Wachovia,—Brendle, Beroth, Rothrock, and a Dunkard.

May 24. Br. Präzel held the Singstunde for the first time.

[*Marshall's Report to U. E. C.* In May, Br. Reuter finished his work on the County Line, surveying it for eighty miles from our Tract.

About the same time several men came from Pennsylvania to buy land. I have already reported that the Schmidt lot has been divided among eight purchasers. Since then several small pieces of the Wiedebach lot have been sold, more than a thousand acres from the two Steinhauer lots, and more than a thousand acres of Unity land, all at about the same valuation, and I hope the Members will be pleased.³

From these travelers we have learned of a new and better route which can be followed instead of the last bad sixty miles coming from Pennsylvania.]

June 4. Br. Marshall arranged with the Brn. Hoehns and Ebert for their purchase of land on South Fork and the Morava.

June 22. George Frey, from New River, who once lived near Lititz, and knew many of the early Brethren there, came to ask for a visit, as they would like to have a pastor and school-teacher. The poor people feel the lack of God's word in their neighborhood, and he said that they lived like Indians. He was told of Br. Soelle's departure, and that two of our Ministers had gone to Pennsylvania, and he was content to await their return, being told that then, if possible, some one would come to him. Adam Hartmann, his brother-in-law, offered to go as guide.

June 24. Br. Christian Heckewälder went to Cross Creek, on business for the Store.

July 13. The Brn. Marshall, Bagge and Bonn went to Bethania to meet Judge Caswell and his company, and came with them to Salem on the 14th, after the Bible Reading, but in time for the Singstunde,

² The Diary of his home mission activities is preserved in the Salem Archives.

³ A list of the Shareholders in Der Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement is given in Vol. I of this series.

which they attended with much satisfaction. Early on the 15th they left, the above mentioned Brethren going with them to our borders.

July 16. We were rejoiced by word from Bethabara of the return of our Brn. Graff and Lorenz Bagge, the bride of the latter, Elizabeth m.n. Burstler, whom he married in Lititz on June 18th, and their driver, Heinrich Hauser.

July 28. S**** M** was notified by the Aufseher Collegium that his bad, unrighteous, and changeable life could no longer be borne with the patience it had received during the past years, as it had become known that he was leading others astray, and as an agent of the Evil One was tempting them to become as unfortunate as he. We wish for the poor man a true repentance, and that he would turn to Jesus for the forgiveness of his sins.

August 1. A Committee of Brethren was appointed by the Grosse Helfer Conferenz to examine the springs lying north-west of Salem, and see how the water could best be brought to the town. The Committee sounded the various springs, and found that the upper one,⁴ which flows out of a rock, has the best and freshest water, and probably would be sufficient for the present. The Brn. Petersen, Aust, Reuter and George Schmid undertook to clean out and enclose this spring, and watch it to the end of September, and if it is proved that it gives enough water, pipes will then be laid.

Aug. 3. Br. Marshall made an address to the Communicants, and told them why S**** M** had received the *consilium abeundi*.⁵

Aug. 17. The little girls in Salem had their Festival. A little negro girl, ten years old, who works for Br. and Sr. Meyer, begged to attend the Lovefeast, and the little girls were told to speak a good word for Cathy to the Saviour, and pray that He would give her a tender and redeemed heart.

Aug. 21. The twelve Vestry Men met here to confer about the Parish Tax.

Aug. 29. The early Festal Service for the Single Brethren was followed by the praying of the Church Litany; and after this the two Youths, Samuel Stoz and Andreas Kremser were solemnly received into the Choir by Br. Präzel. In the Lovefeast a Festal Psalm was sung, with instrumental accompaniment. It had been arranged in Bethlehem, printed in Philadelphia, and copies sent here, which were distributed among the Brethren for the service.⁶

⁴The upper spring was in the south-east angle now formed by Fourth and Spring Streets.

⁵An official command that he leave the community, having forfeited his right to live there by breaking the Rules and Regulations to which he had subscribed.

⁶The first printed Ode recorded.

[*Marshall's Report to U. E. C.* About the middle of September a letter came from our dear Governor, and with it a map⁷ of this Province, which we had long tried to secure but without success. He had finally found one, and sent it to us as a gift. If our Representative goes to Newbern this month to the Assembly that will be our best opportunity for thanking him, and for sending him a map of this County showing the line recently run between Rowan and Surry.

On Sept. 24th the affairs of our Parish were considered in a special session of Conference, and it was definitely decided that the lots outside Wachovia surveyed for us before the Act of Assembly of 1755, that is the two Antes lots, the two Cossart lots and the one Ludwig Weiss lot, should be counted as belonging to our Parish, and also the two Entries which have now been sold to Martin Ebert and John Douthit, and they will hereafter be treated accordingly.]

Oct. 17. This was a day of special grace for all the people of God in Wachovia. All who belong to our Congregations and Societies were invited, and with the children the gathered company numbered about 250.

The first service was at nine o'clock. Br. Graff preached on the Epistle for the day, Eph. 4, 22-28: that we should put off the old man, and seek and find grace and the forgiveness of sins through the blood and wounds of Jesus, and putting on the new man walk before God in righteousness and holiness.

Then, in the presence of the Aeltesten Conferenz, Br. Graff received as Akoluthie the Brn. Petersen, Präzel, Ernst and Künast, and the Srs. Bachhof and Künast, who have been for some time in the service of the Church but have not been received as Akoluthie for lack of opportunity. Their names will now be added to the list of Akoluthie of the Brethren's Unity.

⁷ From various papers printed in the *Colonial Records* it appears that in 1766 William Churton showed Gov. Tryon a map of North Carolina for which he had long been gathering information, and at Tryon's suggestion the Assembly granted Churton £155: Proc. toward having it printed in England. During 1767 Churton made several journeys into the southern part of the seaboard to correct the errors he had discovered in the old maps he had been using for that section of his work; the Earl Granville section he knew was substantially correct, as it was compiled from his own surveys. In December, 1767, Churton died, leaving the map, so far as it had gone, to Governor Tryon. In October, 1768, Tryon wrote to the Earl of Hillsboro, stating that he had commissioned Capt. Collet to continue work on the map, and he had redrawn it from the Churton charts, and was taking it to England to submit to His Majesty, in the hope of having it printed. Tryon said that the lower section of the map was still not satisfactory, and suggested that Collet be commissioned to come back and make additional surveys. It does not appear whether this was done, or whether the map was printed as drawn. The Wachovia Historical Society has a copy of the map, which is 3 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 7 in. in size. In the lower right-hand corner is a rather elaborate design, including the English Coat-of-Arms, an Indian, a wild-cat, and an alligator, and under it the inscription:—"To His most Excellent Majesty George III, King of Great Britain, etc., etc., etc. This Map is most humbly dedicated by His Majesty's most humble obedient and dutiful Subject, John Collet."



A SECTION OF THE COLLET MAP OF NORTH CAROLINA

The second public service was at noon, when the entire company assembled for the Lovefeast, in which the Congregation of Salem formally welcomed Br. and Sr. Graff, who will now reside among us; and welcomed also all the members in Wachovia, now gathered for the second time in this Saal.

The third service was at two o'clock, and in it the first Ordination in Wachovia took place. Br. Graff spoke on the Text for the day: "Thy testimonies are very sure: holiness becometh thine house, O Lord, for ever," applying it to the purpose of this meeting. Then the Doxology for Ordination was sung; and the Brn. Ludolph Gottlieb Bachhof and Johann Jacob Ernst were ordained Deacons by Br. Graff, assisted by the Brn. Utley and Tiersch, with the laying on of hands and the kiss of peace. The Doxology was again sung, and then the Srs. Rosina Bachhof, Juliane Ernst, and Elizabeth Bagge were ordained Deaconesses by Br. and Sr. Graff, with the laying on of hands. Then the closing portion of the Doxology was sung, and the Congregation fell on its knees, while Br. Graff fervently commended to the Saviour these newly ordained Brethren and Sisters, and with them all our Congregations, and all the souls who with us trust in the death of Jesus. When the blessing of the Lord had been laid upon those present, they departed, in the peace of Jesus Christ.

Later in the afternoon the Aeltesten Conferenz met with the Brn. Bachhof and Ernst to discuss their future work, for in addition to their former duties they will now baptise and hold Communion for their Congregations, unless some member of the Salem Conference should be there by appointment on a visit.

Br. Marshall spoke in the evening meeting, and explained that it was the duty of the Provincial Elders Conference to bind together all the Congregations and Societies in Wachovia; also announced that Br. Graff had been made Gemein Helfer for Salem.

[*XII Woche, 1774.* In the latter part of Oct. 1773, Br. Utley went to New River, in Virginia. He preached twice in German and once in English. The path is so bad that it is almost impossible to follow it. The land is much broken; here and there between the mountains there is a little plantation, with fertile fields and meadows, and then more frightful mountains. In all these corners of the earth there are people who crossed the ocean with Brethren, or once lived in their neighborhood, or who went to a country school with them, and so have known the Brethren more or less well.]

Nov. 9. Br. Bagge left, with four wagons, for Charlestown.

Dec. 3. Br. Bagge returned this evening from Charlestown.

Dec. 10. The wagons returned from Charlestown today. With them came a negro girl, whom Br. Bagge bought in Charlestown for service in his family. Also a potter, William Allen, who asks for work, and would like to stay with the Moravians. Br. Aust will give him a trial.

[*Marshall's Report to U. E. C.* Br. Bagge took only four wagons to Charlestown this time, for recently the stores in Cross Creek have improved, so that he secured several wagon-loads of goods from there, though as yet there is a poor assortment to select from, and little chance to dispose of the chief product of this country, that is hides. Our trade is seriously affected, but so far has been carried on successfully, thanks largely to Br. Bagge's activity and ability. This time the sale of skins was so doubtful that he decided to ship them himself to Europe, but we hope for good results from this venture. On Dec. 3rd he returned safely from his trip.

It has been decided to give no more credit (except in a few cases just among ourselves), and to sell from the store only for cash or barter; therefore the price on goods has been reduced, which we think will have a good effect.

In Cross Creek the warehouses belonging to two merchants were entered; in one were the goods which Br. Heckewälder recently bought for our store and packed in boxes. Two or three of these boxes were broken open and £113: worth was stolen. Some time afterward the thieves were discovered, and some of the goods were found in their possession. What the total loss will be, and who will have to bear it, has not yet been decided. The robbery on the way to Charlestown, of which a report reached Europe, did not amount to much,—a driver from Bethania had gotten out a shirt and laid it on the wagon, and that, and a pocket-book containing some paper money, were stolen. Our letters and reports are always carefully packed. In November one of the horses to the Bethabara wagon fell dead as a load of wheat was being taken to Cross Creek;—only the day before an offer of £27: for the horse had been refused.

Br. Fritz has received an answer to his letter to Mr. Day, in Charlestown. Mr. Day gave courteous thanks for the Mission Reports sent to him, but said nothing about his negroes.

It looks as though it would soon be necessary to make the English Queensware and Tortoise-shell, that is, a fine pottery resembling porcelain; the former is lighter than straw color, and the latter is mottled, like a tortoise shell. The matter began with a gentleman who was traveling through, and who would have liked to stay with us; we gave him lodging for some days, and some clothing, and in return he

told Br. Aust how the work was done, and gave him the receipts, which he knew because he had been the superintendent of a factory which made such pottery. Recently, with the wagons from Charlestown, there came a young man who had worked in that same factory. He came without invitation or encouragement, and has asked for work here. He looks promising and we can use him, so we have given him permission to stay, though only on the same terms as other day-laborers, who can be dismissed at any time. A special kiln is being built, but only a small one, and we will see how it goes; for some time our pottery has been turning out a good product not very different from Queensware.

The day after Br. Bagge's return the Single Brethren Heinzmann, Schapiz, Wutroba, and Holland arrived from Europe; and on the 5th they were welcomed with a Choir lovefeast. Since then Br. Heinzmann has taken up his duties as Vorsteher of the Single Brethren. We not only rejoiced in the letters brought from Europe, but also in the second and third sections of the Life of Count Zinzendorf, and his picture.

Br. Metcalf sent by these Brethren the Deeds to his land,⁸ which puts me in position to sell it. But on account of the length of time which has elapsed many of the lines are uncertain, and in some places never were properly run, so I have been obliged to have all the tracts re-surveyed, so we can tell what belongs to us.

Threshing the grain in Bethabara has shown that it is so full of weevils this year that much of it is not even fit to feed to cattle, and the same is true in many places in the neighborhood.]

Extracts from the Minutes of the Aeltesten Conferenz, Aufseher Collegium, and Grosse Helfer Conferenz, 1773.

[In the record of 1772 the Minutes of each Board were given separately, in order that the scope of activity of each might be more clearly seen. From the historical standpoint they need parallel reading, so for 1773 extracts will be taken from each, in chronological order, the source being noted.]

Jan. 4. (G. Helf. Conf.) The Brn. Aust, Triebel, Broesing, and Melchior Rasp, with several Brethren from the Aufseher Collegium, shall inspect all chimneys, stoves, fireplaces, etc., in the town, and

⁸ In 1762, Earl Granville had granted to his Surveyor, William Churton, twenty tracts in North Carolina, totaling eleven or twelve thousand acres. In 1764 Churton sold this land to Charles Metcalf, of England; and in 1772 Metcalf sent Power of Attorney to Marshall to sell it for him. It seems that sales were not made, however, for in 1778 Marshall bought the twenty tracts from Metcalf and his sister, on account of the Unitas Fratrum. The tracts were scattered along Blanket Bottom Creek, Muddy Creek, Abbotts Creek, etc., in what were then Rowan and Orange counties.

report on their condition, and what in their opinion should be changed or improved.

Jan. 5. (Aelt. Conf.) It is proposed that Billy Grabs learn the shoe-maker's profession with Br. Pfeil, in Bethabara; which will give him an opportunity to learn from Br. Graff how to play the organ, and Bethania would like to have an organist for the new organ they have ordered from Bulitscheck.

Jan. 6. (Auf. Col.) The fire inspection shall take place next week, in all the houses of the town. Br. Aust shall take charge of the ladders used in building, and hang them on certain houses, and give certain persons charge of them, without whose permission they shall not be moved, except in case of fire.

Jan. 9. (Auf. Col.) Br. Steinman has handed in his bill for work done on Steiner's mill this summer. He has charged 3 sh. 6d. for day wages, and 8sh. per 100 ft. for laying flooring, rough or planed. He shall be allowed only 3 sh. day wages, but for the flooring what he asked.

The Congregation Council shall be notified that the Act, whereby new-comers into the Province were free for some years from tax and road-work, has been repealed, and is no longer in force.

The Committee on water-works reports that the west springs are the best.

Jan. 10. The Aufseher Collegium and the Water-works Committee met and agreed:—

That work shall begin at the spring behind the Tan-yard.

If possible the water shall be taken to the top, or near the top, of the hill behind the Skin House,¹ where the foot-path from below comes into the road to God's Acre, as from there all parts of the town and all the houses can be reached.

If it should be necessary, in order to get fall and pressure, the upper spring also shall be used, and the water from both springs shall be led into one basin.

So far as possible the pipes shall be laid straight down and straight up the hills. We will try to find a sufficient number of black and white oak logs in the neighborhood, and when they have been bored they shall be washed in pools in the bottom near the Tan-yard, and in the Wach. Those leading the water down hill shall be bored larger than those leading up hill, to give the water more pressure. The bore shall not be over $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The pipes leading to the houses can be smaller.

¹ The Skin House stood on the east side of Main Street, on the lot just north of the present Bank Street.

Pipes shall not run through the lots, but along the streets, as it will cause complaint to have work done in lots that have been dug or planted. Pipes shall be 10 to 12 feet long.²

The spring shall be enclosed in a chest, made of planks, walled on the outside, and plastered with clay, so that the crawfish cannot get in. This shall be covered over with sods, like a turnip-cellar, to protect it from rain water and filth; but an opening shall be left, provided with a good cover.

Feb. 9. (Aelt. Conf.) Lovefeast will not be held this time in Friedberg, as it is poor G*** H***'s turn to provide the bread, and he has scarcely that much in his house. It is most unwise that this, and the Communion wine, should be provided turn about; in future the Stewards should furnish what is necessary, and present their accounts to the Communicants. One of the Stewards should have charge of the supply of Communion wine.

Feb. 23. (Aelt. Conf.) When Br. Fockel goes to Charlestown he shall take a letter from Br. Fritz to Mr. Day, and see what that gentleman has in view regarding the sending of a Brother to preach to his negroes.

(Auf. Col.) The report of the Fire Inspectors was read and discussed. In the future care shall be taken regarding stove-pipes, where a pipe runs for some distance through or against wood. It shall be suggested to Congregation Council to order some leather fire-buckets from Pennsylvania, where they cost one dollar each. Br. Broesing has given Br. Bagge his list of prices for chimney-sweeping, namely,—Single Brothers' kitchen chimney, 1sh. 6d.; chimney in a two-story house, 1 sh. 2d.; in a one-story house, 8d.; Tavern kitchen chimney, 1 sh.

March 2. (Aelt. Conf.) Br. Bonn, as Executor, acting for Sr. Merk, wishes to bind Br. Merk's two apprentices, Jacob Wohlfart and Strub, to other Masters, and asks the opinion of Conference.

Brn. Broesing and Triebel were suggested, and after consulting with the Masters, with Br. Bonn, with the widow, and with both boys, and finding all willing, the boys moved from Bethabara to Salem Brothers House on March 6th, and were taken by the Masters for eight days on trial.

March 9. (Aelt. Conf.) Little G*** K***, who ran away last Sunday from his foster-father and Master, Br. Aust, will be taken back today, by Br. Petersen, and will be told that he must learn obedience before any one can think of letting him learn a profession.

² Old pipes found show that the wooden logs were bored, and the sections joined with four-inch iron rings sharpened on both ends and driven into the wood.

March 16. (Auf. Col.) In the presence of some members of this Collegium, Br. Jacobus van der Merk's two apprentices were bound to other Masters for the remaining time of their apprentice years, Johannes Strub to Br. Christian Triebel, carpenter, and Johann Jacob Wohlfart to Br. Andreas Broesing, joiner.

(Aelt. Conf.) This morning the Aufseher Collegium was informed by Br. Bonn that in the locksmith's shop he heard various reports against Br. A***; the Collegium spoke with the Brn. J** M**, B**, C**, J. F. B**, and A*** about it and found that the reports were lies. The Collegium reports the facts to the Conferenz, and it is agreed that such unchristian gossip cannot be tolerated in the Congregation, and that Br. A***'s good name must not be questioned, though he shall be warned about his free manners, and his criticism of other Brethren.

March 29. (Aelt. Conf.) Some weeks ago Col. Gideon Wright's daughter came to Br. Reuter's house, to stay for a while, giving as the reason that she had been converted and would like to live here, but she soon left, after visiting her acquaintances in the town, and talking with them. Day before yesterday she came back, bringing her sister with her, and giving the same excuse. As they have neither asked nor received permission this time, and as the reason they have given does not appear to be the true one, nor will their presence benefit our town, Br. Reuter shall be asked to send them courteously away as soon as possible.

(G. Helf. Conf.) The roads for Sunday walks shall be divided between the Brethren and Sisters as follows:—

- a) Brushy Fork, George Holder's, Friedland, and toward the mill.
- b) Belews-Creek, God's Acre, Bethabara, Baumgarten's, and Shallow Ford road.

Before boys are bound to Masters the Aufseher Collegium shall speak with both parties, and then the boy shall be bound by a Justice, with Brethren from the Collegium present as witnesses.

When an Apprentice becomes of age he becomes free, according to the Constitution of the land; and his Indenture shall be canceled by the Aufseher Collegium, with the approval of the Hand-work Committee. And if either Master or Apprentice has anything to complain of it shall be discussed at that time, and settled, so that there may be no after-talk, or groundless accusation.

April 1. (Aelt. Conf.) The Aeltesten Conferenz had a meeting with the Brn. Bachhof and Ernst, and Sr. Ernst, concerning the plan for Friedberg. From the beginning the Society there has consisted

of the house-fathers and mothers who contribute to the maintainance of the School-House; but those who openly make trouble, or refuse their contributions, shall no longer be counted as Society members. Communicants there shall now be considered a Country Congregation, and shall be served as such; the first Congregation meeting shall follow the next Society Lovefeast.

April 13. (Aelt. Conf.) Next Sunday, Quasimodo, will be the Day of Remembrance for the Received; there are two in the Brothers House, and one in the Sisters House, and they will have a little Lovefeast with their Choir officers.

As Johann Schaub has now been re-admitted to the Communion his marriage need not longer be delayed. The question was laid before the Saviour whether the proposal concerning Hanna Leinbach still held good, and the affirmative lot was drawn.

April 14. (Auf. Col.) A plan presented by the Single Brethren, for a brewery, to be built near their cattle shed, was approved. There is no objection if they join with Br. Herbst, and lay pipes from the nearest spring, to serve both the tan-yard and the brewery.

The opinion was expressed that it would be good for the town as a whole, for the Store, and for the Tavern, if the new Store building should now be erected on the lot reserved for it;³ it will be necessary to borrow £300: or £400.; and there seems a chance of getting this.

As Br. and Sr. Graff are to move to Salem this year, and it is impossible to make room for another family in the Gemein Haus, and there is no other vacant place, it was decided to arrange the upper story of the present Skin House for a dwelling.

The matter of the mill below Salem was discussed with Br. Steiner. According to contract a part of it is to belong to him. It is not quite finished, and so far has cost £1134: 5: 10. If one allows £65: 14: 2 for the two mill-stones yet to be made, the total will be £1200: and of this total valuation Br. Steiner takes one fourth on his own account. Of the toll which the mill takes, Br. Steiner as miller will receive one third; of the remaining two thirds Br. Steiner will have one quarter, and Salem Congregation three quarters, repairs and other expenses of the mill having been paid before the division. If the miller needs a boy or a servant he shall board and pay him at his own expense. The Inventory of the supplies and machinery of the mill shall be made at once, and values stated. The land belonging to the mill shall be rated at £40: per hundred acres, and on the total valuation of the land the mill shall pay 5% annually, in addition to

³ North-west corner of Main and West Streets.

the Quit Rent. The mill shall also pay £5: annual rent for the fall. As soon as the Inventory is finished Br. Steiner shall board the men working on the mill, one shilling a day being allowed for each.

Br. Herbst reports that the Single Brother, Stotz, is doing well with him, and he plans to pay him 15 sh. per week for the present, as he did Jens Schmidt when he began.

April 15. (Auf. Col.) In conference with the leaders of the Single Sisters it appeared that Sisters working for families in the town are being employed by the week, with board included, and these Sisters are paying nothing for board in their Choir House, so that often only six or eight are at the table there; and yet the salaries of those working in the Sisters' kitchen must be paid. It was decided to make a change in the custom, and to arrange with the married people in town that in the future all Single Sisters shall eat in their Choir House, whether employed in families by the day or week, and shall pay board there, which will be much better for the life of their Choir.

It was noted that Br. Micksch should be encouraged to open the little shop for tobacco, etc., already often discussed, so that he might be able to support himself.

Br. Triebel undertook to make a new pump for the well near the present Store, but the bore was crooked. Then he bored another, which was no straighter, and the pump gives water only when worked with the greatest force. Br. Bagge asks what he shall do about it, for the pump has already cost £17:11:—: and cannot be used, and of this amount £3: 14:—: has been the expense of taking it out and putting it in so many times. It was decided to pay the bill as it now stands, when Br. Triebel has made the pump work well.

April 19. (Auf. Col.) In a conference with the Brn. Kapp and Steiner it was decided that the toll at both mills shall remain as it has been, except for wheat, for other mills south of Wachovia take only the tenth bushel for wheat, and we must do the same. The toll will therefore be one-eighth for corn-meal, one-tenth for flour, corn chops and rye chops, and one-twelfth for malt chops.

Matthew Oesterlein, black-smith, Henrich Blum and Samuel Mau, masons, and Ludwig Möller, potter, who have been apprenticed, respectively, to the Brn. George Schmidt, Melchior Rasp, and Gottfried Aust, have finished their apprentice years, and in the presence of their Masters they were interviewed by the Collegium, the duties of a journeyman were explained to them, and they were urged to be faithful and industrious in their work, and obedient to their employers. The Indentures of the first three were canceled; Möller had none.

April 20. (G. Helf. Conf.) Wages of the Single Sisters shall be as follows.—For working in the garden, and for washing, 2 sh. per day; other household work 1 sh. 6d. By the week, 7 sh. The Sisters shall pay 3 sh. per week for dinner in their Choir House, but shall have breakfast and supper in the families where they work. If a Sister is to work in a family for a long time she shall receive £7: per year, and shall have all her meals with the family.

(Aelt. Conf.) As both Johann Schaub and Hanna Leinbach have accepted the suggestion, they shall be betrothed this afternoon at four o'clock in Salem; this shall be announced to the Congregation in Salem today, in Bethabara tomorrow, and the third publication can be in Bethania; and then on Sunday afternoon the wedding can be in Bethabara. There is no time for delay, on account of Br. Graff's approaching departure.

It has been decided that the Brn. Graff and Lorenz shall leave for Pennsylvania on May 5th. Johann and Heinrich Hauser, of Bethania, will go as drivers; Bethania and Friedberg shall each furnish one horse, and Bethabara the third horse and a light wagon.⁴ Joseph Leinbach will travel in their company.

May 3. (Aelt. Conf.) We badly need a leather-dresser, a tanner, and a shoe-maker; also a weaver for the Single Sisters. Br. Graff shall let our wish be known in Bethlehem and Lititz, and try to secure them.

May 15. (Aelt. Conf.) Br. Lung arrived today with the Brethren from Yorktown.

May 16. (G. Helf. Conf.) Br. Bonn asks permission to have his brother-in-law, Brendel, in his house for a few days. Brendel has moved hither from Pennsylvania, and is waiting for his family. Agreed that Br. Bonn may have him as guest for several days.

May 18. (Auf. Col.) There was discussion concerning the building of a powder-house in the upper corner of the Skin House lot, on the road to God's Acre. Br. Bagge urged the necessity for at once planning for the building of a new Skin House, and especially for the building of a new Store and dwelling house.

(Aelt. Conf.) Br. Matthaeus has received from the Unity's Elders Conference approval of the plan to print a small Hymn Book for the use of the Country Congregations of Brethren in North America. It is to contain a selection of hymns from the shorter Hymn Book, and

⁴This arrangement is interesting in view of the fact that after their return Lorenz Bagge was to be pastor of Bethabara, and Bishop Graff was to ordain the pastors of Bethania and Friedberg.

the Church Liturgies. This cannot be printed in less than three years. He wishes that we in Wachovia would take part in the enterprise. If we assume one-sixth of the expense we expect to receive one-sixth of the edition of 1000 books. The Unity's Elders Conference also recommends that the Church Litany be used by the Country Congregations, with omission of the paragraphs referring to the Choirs, and such other parts as they do not need, which will also serve to shorten the Litany.

May 19. (Auf. Col.) There was further discussion concerning the Store. For immediate use a house 16 by 24 ft. shall be built of stripped logs, beams thrown across, and a few more logs added, so that an upper floor can be laid when needed. It shall stand back in the future Store lot, and will give the Store the place lost in the present Skin House, and skins can be stored in it for the time being. The permanent Skin House, however, shall stand on a line with the Dwelling and Store House on the Main Street, where the scales shall also be. The dwelling house shall stand on the corner, opposite Reuter's, then the Store, and then the Skin House. This temporary Skin House shall be built as soon as possible. When the little powder house is ready work shall begin on the present Skin House.

May 25. (Auf. Col.) Inventories of the Store, Tavern, Pottery, and Tannery were presented, as of the 30th of last month. Although the Tavern shows only a small profit, and the Tannery has a deficit of something like £40; we can thank the Lord for His blessing on the Store and Pottery, and the accounts of these Branches shall be closed according to the Inventories. It was decided to begin a separate book, into which the Inventories shall be copied, for comparison year by year.

June 3. (Auf. Col.) It is feared that Br. Bonn is running too much in debt, through his building, and lack of good management, and his business is suffering through lack of a supply of drugs and other things which are much used. We appreciate his services, and it was proposed to allow him 7 sh. 6d. per day for expenses when he goes to Court; also that he should witness all Deeds drawn here, and receive 8 sh. per Deed for his trouble in proving them and having them recorded at Court. Whoever can give him good advice as to his affairs, and especially how he can bring his Apothecary Shop into better condition, shall give him that assistance.

June 21. (Auf. Col.) The future Store building was discussed, and it was decided that for durability the walls under the eaves should be laid up with clay, others, however, plastered on the outside. The

inner dividing walls can be of unburned brick; the outer walls of both Store and Skin House shall be entirely of uncut stone.

George Holder yesterday told Br. Bagge that he wishes to give up the Plantation next April.

(G. Helf. Conf.) A letter was presented to Conferenz concerning butchering. The town is not yet in position to keep cattle the whole year through; and too small to take all the meat from the butcher when a large animal is killed, so that some would spoil. As the Single Brethren and Br. Meyer do most of the butchering, they are advised to confer before killing a large animal in summer, so that neither injures the other.

A question was asked concerning the price of butter. None can be bought for 6d; many are paying 8d. It was agreed to take the medium price, and pay 7d.

[*Marshall's Report to U. E. C.* The Single Brethren have established a sickle-smithy, and have built a grinding-mill, turned by water brought from a spring to a small over-shot wheel. They are also building a brewery.

There is no Graveyard near Salem except our God's Acre, so the Vestry has resolved to open a *Parish Burying Ground* below Salem, which shall be as decently kept as our own God's Acre above Salem.]

July 4. (G. Helf. Conf.) The Parish Graveyard⁵ for Salem will be laid out on a hill near the road between the Sisters House and Tavern meadows. In digging the graves no difference will be made as to age or sex.

It was proposed that signs be placed on the houses of those having professions, and on the Store and Tavern, for the convenience of strangers coming to town. The signs should give the name of the Master and his profession,—“Charles Holder, a saddler,” “Gottfried Aust, a potter.”

July 13. (Aelt. Conf.) Catalogs of all the Congregations and Societies in Wachovia shall be revised and sent to the Unity's Elders Conference.

July 27. (G. Helf. Conf.) Little boys should not be allowed to attend services without supervision. For Lovefeasts, Baptisms, and Children's Meetings Br. Nilson shall have charge of them; at other times their parents.

The following Brethren were appointed a Committee to prepare the springs above the town for the water-works:—

Petersen, Aust, Reuter, George Schmid,

⁵ A map of 1805 shows the Parish Graveyard as lot No. 104, on the east side of Church Street, midway between Walnut and Race Streets.

Triebel, Valentine Beck, and Melchior Rasp.

The first four shall have charge of the work; Br. Aust shall oversee the workmen at first; Br. Reuter shall sign the Tickets; Br. Bagge shall be treasurer.

Aug. 2. (G. Helf. Conf.) Work is being done on both springs, and the Brethren hope for good results, especially from the upper one.

The County Tax for 1772 is just now being asked for. Br. Aust will collect from the married men, and Br. Koffler from the unmarried, and the money will be handed to Br. Bagge, and he and Br. Bonn will take it to the Sheriff.

The Tax for 1770 has not yet been paid, but it has been charged against the Oeconomie, and will be paid by that.

Aug. 10. (Aelt. Conf.) In a letter to Br. Graff, Br. Ernst mentions that Bultischeck, who has lived in Bethania two years as a guest, now wishes to take a lot there.

Aug. 16. (Aelt. Conf.) It was mentioned that in case of the death of Br. Stach or Br. Bachhof the support of their widows would fall on the Administration Diaconie; therefore it was decided to take first class membership in the Widows Society⁶ for each of them.

(Auf. Col.) It will be best for the Salem Diaconie to bear all expenses of the Salem Parish God's Acre, so that no parishioners living outside the town can claim any rights in the town because of taxes paid.

Aug. 23. (Auf. Col.) Before Br. Charles Holder, who is a Justice, Br. Triebel recently took out a warrant against Jacob Greter, from the South Fork, for a debt of 1 sh. 6d. When it came to trial Greter had to pay this, and 2 sh. 8d. costs. Br. Triebel's unbrotherly treatment of Greter, and Br. Holder's untimely willingness to issue the warrant, are to be deplored. It is as little our purpose that Brother should go to law with Brother, when he is piqued or angry about something, as it is that we should not be submissive to the authorities. (G. Helf. Conf.) Stamped weights and measures of all kinds shall be ordered from London, by which all weights and measures can hereafter be tested.

Aug. 30. (G. Helf. Conf.) Col. Armstrong appears to expect the Friedlanders, and other residents in Wachovia, to attend Musters. He shall be asked to permit members of this Parish to be freed from this service, on payment of a small fine. The Brn. Marshall and Bagge were requested to see him about this.

⁶ A Moravian Life Insurance Company, of which men belonging to the Unity may become members, their widows being the beneficiaries. The office is in Bethlehem, Pa., and it has done good service through a long series of years. The difference between "classes" no longer exists—it was based on the age of those joining.

Sept. 13. (G. Helf. Conf.) A pall shall be bought with Congregation cash. A Corpse House⁷ should also be built at once. Br. Marshall submitted a plan for one, 20 ft. square, with two divisions.

Sept. 18. (Auf. Col.) A Corpse House, of uncut stone, shall be built in the Square; £35: from the Salem building fund has been deposited in the Store for this purpose.

Furniture and supplies will be needed in Br. Graff's future residence. Br. Utley will see to their purchase.

A great many counterfeit English half pence, and good and bad Irish half pence, are now in circulation, which people wish to have accepted as one penny, even as the good English half pence are taken. In Salisbury and other places people are refusing to accept this false currency at one penny of our money, but take it at a less value; consequently all the bad money has drifted to our neighborhood, so that we scarcely see the genuine any more. It will be best in the future to accept only genuine English half pence at one penny, Proc. and all the rest at two for one penny, Proc.

Sept. 27. (Auf. Col.) Parish matters were considered, the Brethren from the Aeltesten Conferenz, and the Brn. Bonn and Reuter, meeting with the Collegium. The question was how many of our outlots belong to Dobbs Parish? We re-read the Parish Act of 1755, and the draft of the Act of 1773 to enlarge Surry County, in which the clause relating to our Parish was inserted,—the printed Act has not yet been received. We agreed that all lots added to the Wachovia Tract prior to the Act of 1755 are certainly included in this Parish, but not those purchased later. Therefore the two pieces on the east line, belonging to Henry Antes, the two belonging to Cossart, and the one to Weiss, on the west line, belong to Dobbs Parish. There are also 640 acres on the Sorau, and 313 acres near Douthit's, which were surveyed before 1755, but Deeds have not yet been received, so it is doubtful whether they should be included.

The Brn. Bonn and Bagge were asked to see Col. Martin Armstrong about several things. 1) To pay him his fee for the election of the last Vestry. 2) To ask whether he will collect the Parish Tax, or whether we shall appoint some one to do it. 3) To inform him that the Tax for the Parish of St. Jude⁸ has been collected from certain persons living in our Parish, which should not have been done. 4) To ask that persons in our Parish, even though they are not, strictly

⁷ For various reasons it was considered wise to place the casket containing remains in the Corpse House for the days intervening between death and burial. Modern undertaking methods, and modern funeral customs, have made such a house unnecessary as an adjunct to the church building.

⁸ That is, the Church of England Parish in Surry County outside of Wachovia.

speaking, Brethren, may be excused from attending Muster and from appointment as officers, and may be permitted to pay a definite yearly fine instead, if they so desire.

(G. Helf. Conf.) The expenditures for the poor, in Salem, shall be made by Br. Reuter, as Church Warden, but Salem Diaconie shall pay them. Hereafter the money collected in the boxes at the doors of the Saal shall be used for that purpose.

Col. Armstrong was very friendly to the Brethren, and assured them that he would leave entirely to them the collection of the Taxes assessed by the Dobbs Parish Vestry.

Oct. 4. (G. Helf. Conf.) According to law the Parish Tax must be paid between Easter and the first of November. Br. Bonn, as Deputy Sheriff, will post Advertisements announcing this. He will then collect the Tax from Salem, Friedland, and that section; Br. Blum will gather it in Bethabara; and Br. Spoenhauer in Bethania.

Br. Bagge will order the stamped weights and measures from Philadelphia.

Oct. 19. (Aelt. Conf.) S*** M**⁹ has written a letter to the Congregation, bemoaning the unrest of his heart, saying that he has sought pardon from the Saviour with many tears, asking forgiveness from the Congregation also, and begging that he may be taken back. It seems best that he should work for a time with Br. George Aust, and then with Br. John Ranke, so that we may see whether he really has had a change of heart.

Oct. 26. (Aelt. Conf.) M** has gone to Br. George Aust for a month.

Nov. 2. (Aelt. Conf.) In the Brothers House a class in writing and arithmetic shall again be begun for the boys. We must also see that the younger Sisters and girls in the Sisters House have practice in writing.

Nov. 16. (Aelt. Conf.) The Act renewing our Parish, and placing it as a whole into Surry County, was read by the Conferenz.

Nov. 21. (Aelt. Conf.) The year for the widowed Sister, Christine Merk, is almost over, and it will be well to consider marriage for her. Br. Koffler was suggested.

Nov. 23. (Aelt. Conf.) School charges for those living outside Bethania will be 4d per week; in Bethabara it will have to be 6d, as there are so few children. In Friedberg the Stewards can charge those outside the Society 4d.

⁹ See Salem Diary, July 28, and August 3, 1773.

Dec. 7. (Aelt. Conf.) Br. and Sr. Graff reported concerning their visit to Bethania. It appears that F***'s wife is a veritable agent of Satan, and that she has led many of the young people astray. She failed to influence S** H**, but she stopped S**'s daughters in the evening as they were going to Singstunde, and coaxed them into her house, where they met certain objectionable fellows, and spent the evening with them. She has had a bad influence on other girls also. Br. Marshall, in the name of the Conferenz, will write to the Congregation of Bethania, deploring this condition of things, and urging the necessity of dismissing her from the Congregation.

Dec. 8. (Auf. Col.) There was discussion concerning a journeyman potter, by the name of Ellis,¹⁰ who arrived today from Charlestown, coming of his own accord. He had been in Pine Tree, and was on his way to Charlestown, when he met Br. Bagge, and asked if he might not come here, and was told he might do as he liked, but no promise of work could be given; that would have to be arranged with Br. Aust. He understands how to glaze and burn Queens Ware, so the Collegium approves Br. Aust's suggestion, which is, that a kiln, suitable for burning such ware, be built on the lot occupied by Br. Ludwig Meinung, which adjoins Aust's, where the man can work under supervision. He shall receive food and clothing, and a douceur for his work, and we will learn all we can from him about glazing, of which Br. Aust already has some knowledge. It should be noted that two and a half years ago Br. Aust learned something of the art of making this ware from a travelling potter, though he had not tried to draw it from him; and that Ellis should now come of his own accord makes us think that the Almighty means that this art should be established here.

Dec. 14. (Aelt. Conf.) Mr. Day has written to Br. Fritz, thanking him for the present sent, and for the reports of our Missions among the heathen; but he says nothing further about sending someone to his negroes.

(Auf. Col.) The Aeltesten Conferenz draws attention to the fact that in case of marriage there is no place where a couple can be lodged, even for a time. All places were considered, especially the houses which have no rooms under the roof. For the present the most available would be Carl Holder's and Meinung's, which belong to the Diaconie, and a room could be arranged in each. It was decided to study Meinung's house, and see what could be done; but to build such a room, and make the necessary arrangements for its use by a family, would cost about £30.

¹⁰ Called Allen in the Salem Diary, December 10, 1773.

Dec. 21. (Provincial Elders Conference.) Br. Fockel shall receive £60: salary from the Store [at Bethabara].

Dec. 29. (Auf. Col.) Those who have become 16 years of age since Michaelmas must contribute to the Congregation Cash. The officers of the respective Choirs shall see that they do their share.

A man from Abbotts Creek, Plessel by name, offers to lend the Single Brothers Diaconie £36.; to be repaid on three months' notice. It is not clear whether he simply deposits it with them, or whether they are to pay interest.

Extracts from Bethabara Diary, 1773.

Jan. 5. Br. Reuter and Br. Meinung went today to Br. Bagge's lot, which borders on Henry Banner's, and measured some hundreds of acres for a man named Hill.

Jan. 11. The third family from Carols Manor,—Slator, his wife and two children,—moved from here today to their land eleven or twelve miles away. Only the elderly widow, Mrs. Goslin, with her children and two negroes, now remain, waiting until their cabin is finished.

Jan. 12. Mr. Rudolph, from Belews Creek, who has been called in by Br. Jac. van der Merk, came today, and made several incisions in both Br. Merk's legs, to draw off the water, as he is suffering from dropsy. Br. Bonn also came from Salem to visit Br. Merk.

Jan. 21. Br. Kobus¹ said this morning that he would go home this evening about six o'clock, and asked that Br. Graff should not fail to come to give him the last blessing, remarking that many angels would be present, that he had already seen in his room, dressed in a beautiful white robe, the little Jacob Blum, who went home some years ago; and he would like to be able himself to take part in the last blessing. When Br. Graff went to him he took Br. Graff's hand in both his own, and moved them towards his head, and so he received the blessing of the Congregation and of his Choir; then for an hour he lay with folded hands, like a contented child, fully conscious, and joining audibly in the hymns that were sung for him, and when too weak for that following them with his lips. Finally life ended like the extinguishing of a light, without the gasping or convulsions so usual in a case like his. Now he is at rest, thank God! His departure was at once announced by the musicians, and in the Singstunde the Congregation sang the usual Liturgy.

¹ The first name of Jacobus van der Merk was shortened by the Brethren to Jacob and to Kobus—it is properly James in English, but the form they used is followed in the translation.

Jan. 22. Br. Bullitschek came from Bethania to make Br. Merk's coffin.

Jan. 24. A large number of Brethren and friends gathered for the funeral of Br. Merk, among them the three Justices of the Peace, Gideon Wright, Moses Martin, and Malcom Curry, together with Br. Bonn and Br. Charles Holder, from Salem, [who were also Justices]. Mr. Curry, especially, was much affected, and offered to help carry the bier, saying that he loved Br. Merk. It rained gently all day, but not enough to soak the ground. At one o'clock the entire company gathered in the Saal, there was not even standing room, and some of the Brethren had to remain outside. Br. Graff spoke on the Text for Jan. 21st, * * * ; following with a short address in English for those who understood only that language. Then the remains were taken to God's Acre, and buried during the usual Liturgy. Everything was carried out in the most beautiful order, and many tears were shed.

Feb. 11. Yesterday, and again today, a wagon load of salt was brought to our Store, and a third was taken to Bethania. For some time salt has been scarce in this neighborhood, and could be sold to our neighbors only by the quart. Now the need is relieved, but the price is somewhat higher.

Feb. 12. Mr. Hamilton, Deputy Clerk for the Court of this County, came from New Bern. He brought letters from our Brn. Marshall and Bagge, written on the 29th of last month in New Bern. These were sent on to Salem, together with the printed Address of the Governor to the Assembly, in which, among other things, he proclaimed the pardon of His Majesty for those who took part in the last insurrection.

Feb. 14. Br. Ernst wrote that Wilhelm Adam Wolf has died, near Bethania. May God have mercy on his poor soul!

Feb. 15. George Aust and family moved from here to their farm.

Feb. 16. Br. Steinman and young Volz had a narrow escape today on the Steinman farm. They were working on the roof of the stable, and had secured the rafters only with ordinary nails, which pulled loose, and all the roof timbers fell, and Steinman with them. He might have been killed, but escaped with bruises on head and shoulder. Br. Bonn came from Salem yesterday, and today he and Br. Blum went to Court.

Feb. 18. Our well-known neighbor from the Yadkin, Johannes Högst, came through on his way to Pennsylvania. Letters were given him for Bethlehem.

Feb. 23. Br. Graff went to Salem to Conference, and returned this evening. He brought old Br. Pfeil a Certificate from the Assembly, freeing him from public taxes and duties.

Feb. 26. Three wagons came from Bethania, and were loaded with deer skins and other things from this Store and the Store in Salem, which they will take to Charlestown. Br. Michael Ranke will have charge of all the wagons, as besides him there are only boys and an outsider, Hermanus Müller. [The reason for sending these three wagons at this unusual season of the year was that there is no demand in Charlestown for the half-dressed skins brought in by the hunters, so we had to send what we had of hides still in the hair, and send them before warm weather brought worms to spoil them. If we could secure from Bethlehem a leather-dresser, as we have several times suggested, it would help us very much; as it is our trade is much endangered. *Marshall's Report to U. E. C.*]

Feb. 28. In Congregation Council the Brn. Blum and Lung were elected members of the Committee in place of the departed Brethren, Pfeifer and van der Merk.

March 2. Everywhere many persons, and especially children, are suffering from a hard cough and aching of the body, the result of the recent severe cold.

March 8. At eight o'clock there was Singstunde, which will in future be held at this hour, for the sake of the elderly Brethren who are tired from the day's work and cannot keep awake till nine o'clock.

March 18. The widow, Merk, came from Salem with her [husband's] Executor, Br. Bonn, who will also take charge of the estate of Sr. Zynn.

March 20. Heyn's daughter, who cared for Margreth [Zynn] faithfully to the end, went back to Friedland with her father, taking a large package of bedding and clothing which the elderly Sister gave her. Mr. Lanier was in the Tavern today. Among other things he reported that the Governor had dissolved the Assembly.

March 27. Br. Fockel returned from Charlestown, in good health. He left the wagons at Sandy Swamp three days ago. All went well on the trip.

March 29. This afternoon Mr. Lanier passed, with his company, on their way to run the line between Rowan and Surry, according to the recent Act of Assembly. Br. Reuter had been named one of the Commissioners, and Mr. Lanier left a letter of instructions for him, which Br. Pfeil took at once to Salem.

April 3. Mr. Martin Armstrong came to collect taxes. His Advertisement, posted at the Tavern, provided one shilling for Parish Tax, but this assessment has not yet been made, for the new Act regarding Dobbs Parish is not yet in force.

April 8. Maundy Thursday. The Single Brother, Johannes Schaub, and the Married Sister, Rosina Stach, were re-admitted to the Communion.

April 13. In the Tavern here there was a public sale of the negress, Franke, who has been working there. Br. Meyer, from Salem, offered £100; the man who was selling her raised the bid £5: and therefore kept her, but this was not his intention, he only meant to raise the price, and it may well be that he will let Br. Meyer have her.

April 23. Our Sisters have finished the sheep-shearing.

[There is a gap in the Diary from April 27 to June 4.]

July 12. The Brn. Bagge and Bonn came from Salem, on their way to meet the Chief Judge on his arrival at Gideon Wright's. They returned before night, bringing several packages of letters, which have come from Germany by way of Charlestown and Salisbury.

July 13. Br. Marshall came from Salem, going first to Bethania to make arrangements for the reception of the Chief Judge tomorrow.

July 14. The Brn. Marshall, Bagge and Bonn went to Bethania to meet the Chief Judge and escort him to Salem.

July 16. This was the happy day of the long-awaited return of our Brethren from Pennsylvania, that is Br. Graff and Br. and Sr. Lorenz Bagge, with their wagoners. In the evening the Congregation had a Love-feast, to thank the Saviour for their safe journey. Announcement was made of Br. Graff's ordination, on July 6th, at Bethlehem, as Co-Episcopus, and of Br. Bagge's marriage to Sr. Elizabeth Burstler, in Lititz. Also that Br. and Sr. Graff would move to Salem, and their places here would be taken by Br. and Sr. Bagge.

July 24. Adam Spach brought Br. Leonard Moser for a short visit; the latter has recently come from Maryland to look at land.

July 26. The Brn. Blum and Stauber went to the Town Fork to see young Hampton, who recently rode one of our best draft horses to death, on Sheriff's business. He refused to make any arrangement for paying for it, and plans to leave the Province before the next session of the Assembly, to which the matter will have to go.

Aug. 10. Many of the militia passed through today, on their way to General Muster at Gideon Wright's.

Aug. 19. The two Single Sisters, Colver and Schüz, and the two girls, Sehner and Elisabeth Dixon, came from Salem to dry apples and peaches for the Single Sisters, and for others in the Gemein Haus.

Sept. 10. In Bethania Br. Bullitschek placed the new organ in the Saal; one stop is so far finished that Br. Meinung could play for the evening service.

Sept. 23. The Sisters have finished picking hops; there has been a good crop.

Sept. 20. Two men from Virginia spent the day here, and looked about with wonder and pleasure. Among other questions they asked how many negroes we had? Answer, two. They were the more surprised to find that white people had done so much work.

Oct. 15. Br. and Sr. Graff and their daughter moved to Salem.

Nov. 2. Br. Lorenz went to Salem to Conference. The Brn. Bullitschek and Schor began repairing our saw-mill. Br. Kühnast held the twilight Bible Reading.

Nov. 3. Sr. Christine Merk moved to Salem. She will have a little room in the house of Br. and Sr. Bonn.

Nov. 12. The site for the new Tavern was staked.

Nov. 15. It has frozen rather hard the last four nights. Schaub, Jr. went to Martin Duncken's to burn lime for the new Tavern.

Nov. 17. Today it is twenty years since the first Brethren came here to live.

Nov. 26. Br. Richter brought in the great oxen from the woods. Seven were caught, and put in the stable; it was dangerous work, but accomplished without injury, thank God!

Nov. 29. Early this morning Br. Kapp brought word that his father-in-law, Friedrich Schor, died peacefully yesterday, in the fourth hour.

Dec. 11. Br. Lorenz went home with Johannes Högst, who had asked for the baptism of his child. He lives in a German settlement, which begins at our line and extends to the Yadkin. They reached his house about eleven o'clock, and found the company already assembled. Pieling Stall, Jacob Dietz, and Jacob Schwartz, also asked for the baptism of their children. Br. Lorenz explained that when Brethren baptised children they expected the parents to bring them up in the Baptismal Covenant, and to keep them in it, so far as in them lay.

Dec. 19. We hear that Col. Armstrong has returned from the Assembly.

Dec. 20. Several families passed through, coming from Pennsylvania. We heard from them that Friedrich Müller would soon be here.

Extracts from the Friedberg Diary, 1773.

Jan. 3. The long-expected Broadbay families arrived, and on the 4th went to Friedland.

Jan. 23. Br. and Sr. Bachhof were in Salem, and gave Br. Tiersch the Friedberg contribution for Missions, which was £1 :11 :6.

Jan. 25. Adam Spach, Jr. joined the evening school for older boys.

Feb. 15. Three years ago today Br. and Sr. Bachhof moved to this School-House.

Feb. 21. Br. Lorenz and several Single Brethren and Youths came from Salem to the funeral of Christian Daniel Hartman. He was born in Reddington, in Pennsylvania, but was not baptised, for at that time his parents, our beloved Br. and Sr. George Hartman were connected with Ephrata, that is with the so-called Seventh Day Adventists. The Indian alarms caused them to move to Carolina, bringing with them this son, another three years old, and an infant daughter. * * *

March 7. Br. Bachhof visited George Hartman's son, John, who is ill. He shows much the same symptoms as his brother, Christian Daniel,—high fever, headache, pain in the chest, and has spit up blood, and bled at the nose.

March 8. Johann Nicholas Boeckel has moved into his new house in Wachovia. May the Saviour be with him!

March 24. There was a heavy storm, with thunder, wind, and hail. Many have said that even an hour after the storm there were hail-stones seen as large as hen's eggs.

March 28. The Society met, and among other things they were told that Br. Peter Pfaff, who had been Steward for more than a year, had asked to be relieved. A vote was taken, and Nicholas Boeckel was elected in his place.

April 4. Sunday. Br. Tiersch preached on I John, I, 8 and 9. Then the Society had a Lovefeast, during which Br. Marshall gave the company greetings from the Brn. Gregor and Loretz, and from the Unity's Elders Conference as a whole; and stated that a Country Congregation was now to be established here, after the pattern of those in Pennsylvania. He made a hearty, brotherly, talk, explaining the organization of the Unity, and its aims; then our neighbors from beyond Muddy Creek, Christoph and Altje Elrod, who had long wished to join the Brethren, were admitted into the Society; and in the following service they were Received into the Congregation by Br. and Sr. Bachhof, with the Kiss of Peace. Finally, after the service for absolution, the Congregation united in an indescribably blessed Communion.

April 11. Easter Sunday. The weather being fine we were able to hold the Liturgy on God's Acre.

April 18. The Stewards tried to arrange with the Brethren to provide candles and salt for Br. Bachhof, and he suggested to them that all overdue gifts might be delivered week by week, together with the

regular allowance of provisions, candles and salt, of which all approved. Next day Johann Nicholas Boeckel, who had fallen behind, made a beginning, and brought a pound of candles and a quart of salt.

April 25. Our neighbor from beyond Muddy Creek, Wilhelm Bohner, asks to be taken into the Society. He was brought up among Brethren in Pennsylvania, and was a Society member there.

April 26. George Frey sent his two daughters to school. Br. Reuter and Miksch surveyed the land for the School-House, which is 80 acres, including the fields.

May 3. Br. Soelle, who has been visiting in the neighborhood, arrived here very ill, and Br. Bachhof took him to Salem.

May 5. Br. Tiersch sent a note, saying that our dear Br. Soelle went home contentedly last evening, in the eleventh hour; and that his funeral will be tomorrow at one o'clock. At his request the word was circulated in this neighborhood.

May 10. J. N. Boeckel sent his eldest daughter, Anna Marie, and Greter sent his son, Jacob, to school. Today the children learned the verse

Ich bin ein kleines Kindelein

Und meine Kraft ist schwach; etc.

May 15. The Brn. Marc Hähn and Martin Ebert arrived from Yorktown. Already this morning we have heard that two families were coming from Yorktown, and young Brändel and his family from Heidelberg, [Pa.].

May 16. After preaching another service was held, in which the Memoir of our departed Br. Soelle was read, together with his last Diary, and a beautiful hymn which he had written.

June 14. School closed on account of harvest.

June 26. Adam Hartman would like to sell his improvements here and move to his brother-in-law on New River, but his wife is not yet of his mind.

July 2. Br. Bachhof visited the homes of George Hartman and Adam Spach. The former was busy making hay. At the farm of the latter the father and his sons were cutting oats; the mother and her daughters were spinning, carding and weaving. It was a great pleasure to see the children busy with their appointed tasks;—what a pity that it is not so in all homes!

July 11. Peter Frey asked to be relieved from his office as Steward, and Peter Pfaff was elected in his place.

July 18. In the presence of Peter Frey the collection boxes were

opened, and the amount for Missions was found to be 18 sh. 7d. Harvest being successfully ended Br. and Sr. Adam Spach had a Lovefeast for their children, to which Br. and Sr. Bachhof were invited. Thanks were given to God for the rich gifts received from His hands; and their little daughter, Johanna, was especially commended to the Saviour, it being her eighth birthday. And Br. and Sr. Bachhof remembered with love and gratitude that on this day, eleven years ago, they were married in Bethabara.

July 22. The elderly Moser, from Manakosy, and his brother, who lives in Stinking Quarter, came with Adam Spach. They were very friendly, and said they were minded to select land in Wachovia, and settle here.

Sept. 8. Br. Marshall announced that he would come next Sunday, and hold a Lovefeast, as a little post-Festival for the Married People.

Sept. 12. * * * Br. Marshall read the Psalm used at the Married People's Festival, in Salem, on the 7th. * * *

Sept. 27. School began again, with four scholars.

Nov. 6. Br. Bonn bled fourteen persons at the School House.

Nov. 27. Br. Bachhof held the Communion service for the first time.

Dec. 25. We had a really blessed Christmas Day. First the message of the angels, as given in the Gospels, was sung, and served as the text for the sermon, followed by praises to the Son. Then, after an address, there was the baptism of little Joseph Walk. This was followed by the Lovefeast for the children, during which one after the other repeated texts concerning the Christ-Child in the manger, and together they brought their childish offerings of thanks and praise. At the close of the service each was given a new verse and a cake. In spite of the bad weather about sixty children were present. Unfortunately they had to go home in a storm of thunder, lightning and heavy rain, which prevented Br. and Sr. Bachhof from going to Salem to share with the Congregation there in the Lord's Supper, the best of all Christmas gifts.

Dec. 31. At ten o'clock the Society, and their older children, had a Lovefeast, during which the Memorabilia of the three Town Congregations in Wachovia were read, and also those of the Country Congregations and Societies. We closed with a consideration of the last beautiful Text of the year, and at the stroke of twelve we fell on our knees, and sang

Now thank we all our God;

then the first Text for the new year, 1774, was read, another hymn was sung, and we commended ourselves to the grace of God the Father, the love of the Son, and the communion of the Holy Ghost.

SOELLE'S DIARY

[One of the most interesting characters living in Wachovia during the years 1771 to 1773 was George Soelle, "the free servant of Jesus Christ."

Soelle was an ordained minister of the Unity of Brethren, and had served as pastor of various Moravian congregations in the northern States, being in charge of Broadbay, Maine, for the years preceding the coming of the Broadbay settlers to Wachovia. Moving south with them, he continued to act as their pastor when they settled at what came to be called Friedland, but beyond that his heart went out to the men and women, outside of Wachovia, who longed to lead a godly life, but knew not how to find peace in so doing.

Making his home in the Salem Brothers House, Soelle went hither and yon as he was invited; north, south, east or west, wherever his services were desired. Afoot or on horseback he made his way to Deep Creek and Dutchman's Creek and the mountains beyond; to the River Settlement on the Yadkin; to Abbotts Creek and the Uharie; to Belews Creek; to Town Fork; to Virginia. Sometimes he went alone, sometimes a friend would accompany him from one preaching place to another. He was past sixty years of age, and not strong, night often found him "very tired," but next morning he would again take up his work. Sometimes he noted that he "visited every stream along the way, because it was so oppressively hot"; sometimes he "shivered with cold," not infrequently he was drenched to the skin by heavy rain, but nothing stopped him. More than once he notes that the weather was so very bad that he did not expect to find any audience at the meeting house, but it seems not to have occurred to him that such weather was a sufficient excuse for a man of his age to miss his appointment, and he usually found more people than he expected waiting for him.

He was not a particularly good horseman, and preferred to go on foot, but the doctor had forbidden that, so he made the best of it, though it gave him disturbed hours when his horse wandered away during the night's rest. But somebody always made it possible for him to borrow a horse and keep the next appointment, and somebody always found his horse and restored it to him, and that gave opportunity for him to record his thankfulness to God.

Another difficulty was the finding of his way, for he seldom went twice in exactly the same route, and now and then he would miss

the path, and wander for hours in the forest; but either he found where he was and retraced his steps or a friendly stranger took him in for the night, and though again "very tired" all was well.

He must have been a man of wonderfully attractive personality. As he passed from place to place the sick of soul sought him out and told him "all their heart." Host and hostess spoke freely with him, showing their hopes and fears and listening to his counsel. In the evenings the young folks of the family clustered around him, drawing him into conversation or shyly waiting for him to speak. His comments on these young people are an index to the man's point of view:—"The lad is wild, but I love him for his straightforwardness." "The younger girl's heart was tender." "The seventeen-year-old son amazed his parents; they thought he cared nothing for religion, but of his own accord he talked frankly with me, bringing a Bible" and discussing one and another point. "It is a dear family, and the twelve-year-old boy particularly appeals to me." So run his comments in one and another home. In one of the places farthest from Salem the family begged him to stay and make his home with them. They offered him food and clothing, and a horse for his pastoral visiting, anything he needed, if he would only stay, and while he could not accept he simply and gladly records their wish. On two other occasions he was offered the pastorate around a newly erected school-house, on his own terms; but he explained that he could not be bound to any one charge, though he would come to them as often as he could.

The message that he took into these many homes was simple Gospel, and he records almost no conversations on other topics. From the outlines he gives of his sermons it is plain that he spoke in language that plain folk could understand, preaching "Christ and Him crucified," "the Saviour," "the Friend of sinners"; and in private conversation he emphasized the fact that self-righteousness was fatal, and that men must recognize their weakness and their sin, and that coming as poor sinners to a Saviour they were sure to find loving acceptance. Repeated comments show how he grieved over the fact that the other itinerant ministers of the day did not stress these points. He thought it a great pity that men "only half converted" thought they were called to preach, and being themselves not on a firm foundation, and having no personal experience of the deepest and most essential things, they could and did exhort but could not lead souls into personal communion with God, or help them to find peace.

But while he lamented over the ignorance and lack of spiritual experience of these other preachers, mostly Baptists, he recognized and

commended their earnestness of purpose, and his personal relations with them were pleasant. Mr. Murphee, who had a meeting house west of the Yadkin, made him welcome there whenever he chose to preach. On one occasion he chanced to reach a place where a three-day meeting was beginning, and the minister in charge invited him to preach the opening sermon. On the other hand the other ministers seem to have availed themselves often of appointments made by Soelle, coming at the same time, and preaching to the same audiences when Soelle had finished. Sometimes he remained to hear them, sometimes he left at once to meet other appointments, but he makes no unfavorable comments on their action, not even when the second preacher "preached Soelle's sermon over again." Once the Baptist minister present held a "baptising" after Soelle's services were over, and Soelle watched it with interest, it being the first ceremony of the kind he had seen.

Of course things did not always go smoothly. Sometimes word of his coming had not been sent out as he expected, and he must either postpone the meeting or wait until messengers could take the word around through the neighborhood. Sometimes his reception was not warm, and he "made no appointment to come again; they might ask for him if they wanted him to come." Once at least opposition to him took open form. A new meeting house had been built in a neighborhood where he was accustomed to preach, and there the audience assembled. Soelle went to the reading table to open the service, but before he could begin a man began to sing, then another spoke, and finally one man said plainly that Soelle was not to be allowed to preach there. Others protested that the house had been built chiefly for his use; but Soelle quietly bade his friends cease the discussion, and go with him to a nearby friendly house, and the large majority of the audience accompanied him, leaving the few opponents in possession of an almost emptied building. Such incidents, however, were the exception, and as a rule he was warmly welcomed and urged to come again.

Soelle's Diary of his pastoral tours begins with March 23, 1771, and ends with April 12, 1773, and consists of about two hundred closely written pages of German script. It gives the story of his movements from day to day during that time,—where he went, with whom he talked, what he preached, and all the little incidents of the way. With a very few exceptions the names he gives, the homes at which he stopped, constitute a kind of honor roll of those who sought to live godly lives in the midst of a careless and oftentimes godless land, not infrequently scoffed and jeered at by their neighbors. And yet these same neighbors cared more than they realized, for when Soelle came they crowded

the rooms and meeting houses, so that from time to time services had to be held out of doors, under some sheltering tree. One thing can be noted here, as all through the diaries of this period, and that is the easy display of emotion in men and women. Soelle did not encourage noisy excitement, in fact he plainly discouraged it, and told them why he considered it of no avail, but unless touched hearts showed in moist eyes or gentle tears he felt that his words had not gone home. Steeled though these pioneers were to endure toil and privation they had not learned to wear a mask upon their faces, to hide their feelings from the world, and penitence meant tears, real not metaphorical, and affection and joy often brought tears as well.

As he went in and out among these his parishioners Soelle records their spiritual condition, their growth in self-knowledge and in humility, their increased understanding of his message,—or the reverse. These were matters which deeply concerned him as their pastor, but which have no place in an historical volume. The part of the Diary which more nearly concerns the historian, or at least the genealogist, is that his itineraries give the approximate location of many homes, and that interwoven with his religious comments are bits of family history, otherwise unattainable. Some of the locations can be still more definitely fixed by Deeds in the County Court-Houses, but in the absence of Wills the personal items are invaluable to any one whose “family tree” happens to be rooted there. With this in mind the various journeys have been carefully analyzed, and items combined, so that without too much repetition the reader may follow him out into various directions from Salem. It should be remembered that not once did he make all these points in one journey; he might go direct from Bethabara to “old father Ries,” or he might spend a week on the way stopping at various homes, and making calls to right or left. He might go by Murphee’s and return by Douthit’s, or he might go and come by the Shallow Ford. The order used in the following is merely the longest and fullest trip, amplified by all the rest. It may be added that there seem to have been three usual crossing places of the Yadkin River,—from Bethania to Murphee’s or Glen’s, probably what was later known as Glen’s ferry; the Shallow Ford, on what is now known as the Lewisville road; and another ferry from Douthit’s to David Jones’s, doubtless the one later called Idol’s ferry, for local tradition states that it was by the ford at this point that Daniel Boone crossed and recrossed the Yadkin. Idol’s ford and ferry have been destroyed by the back water from the dam of the Southern Power Company’s plant.

The first series of visits, as grouped, leads west from Salem, to plantations along and near Deep Creek, (that is across the middle of the present County of Yadkin), from there to Dutchman's Creek (in the present County of Davie), with several side excursions. It is based on a trip taken in April, 1771, though with free use of the records of other trips.]

Editorial Compilation from Soelle Diary.

1) Went from Salem to Bethabara; went to the Yadkin River and spent the night with Br. Martin Hauser.

Held service in the home of Joseph Philips, who lived near the Yadkin; after the service baptised the child of George Loesch, whose farm was not far away. "Philips' neighbors are nearly all Regulators."

Visited three families in the neighborhood of the Branch.

Crossed the Yadkin, and preached in Mr. Morphee's meeting house, some miles beyond. Morphee (or Murphee) lived in the neighborhood, and sometimes entertained Soelle in his home. On March 5, 1773, Soelle records that Murphee is planning to move elsewhere. On this April, 1771, trip Soelle spent the night at the home of Abraham Crisson, who is shown on the map of 1771, (given in Vol. I, of the *Records of the Moravians*), some miles south, below the Deep Creek, but near the Yadkin there. He was a good-natured man, well liked by his neighbors. His married daughter died toward the end of 1771.

Visited Roger Turner, Jr. His wife, who was a daughter of Mrs. Robert Elrod by her first marriage, had been in poor health for seven years. Roger Turner, Sr. was the oldest man in the neighborhood; in 1773 Soelle notes that he was 84 years old, and blind. Records in Rowan County show that Roger Turner, Sr. held his land under Grants from Lord Granville, dated 1755 and earlier; Roger Turner, Jr. secured a Grant from Granville in 1761. The land seems to have been south of Deep Creek, on Turner's Creek, some miles west of the Yadkin. The Will of Roger Turner, Sr. filed in Rowan County, is dated Feb. 2, 1775, and was probated at the November term of Court, 1778. It mentions his wife, Elisabeth; sons Elias, Robert, Thomas, and Roger; daughters Hannah and Mary; and grandson Roger, son of Thomas. Soelle's Diary mentions that Roger Turner, Jr. and his wife have children.

Spent the night at Robert Elrod's. They were elderly people. Mrs. Elrod was a sister of the wife of John Douthit, Sr., and from the Hope Church Book, in the Salem Archives, it appears that Mrs. Douthit's maiden name was Scott, so that Mrs. Elrod was also a Scott,

and probably, like her sister, she was born in Pennsylvania, and moved to the Manakosy settlement in Maryland before coming to North Carolina. She was a widow when she married Elrod; her eldest daughter married Roger Turner, Jr. already mentioned, and the younger married John Jones. No children of her second marriage are mentioned. Soelle notes that Mrs. Elrod had formerly been bitter against the Brethren, but was now most friendly, and he thought "the Saviour will win many hearts in this family," Mrs. Elrod and her elder daughter being particularly concerned about their salvation. The "old mother" of the Robert Ellrods lived between them and the Yadkin River, but Soelle neglects to give her name, or to say whether she was mother of Robert or of his wife.

Having preached at Elrod's, Soelle spent the following night at Abraham Wilson's. Nothing is said about his family, but Soelle frequently stopped there. He had a brother, James Wilson. Robert Wilson, whom Soelle visited from Abraham's, is called "a neighbor," so he was evidently not a brother. Robert Wilson's wife was named Elisabeth, and in March, 1772, Soelle notes that he will move back to his old place near McNight, east of the Yadkin, in about a month.

On the April, 1771, trip Soelle went from Abraham Wilson's to visit his brother, James Wilson; and went from there to call on Jonathan Buhn (Boone); and returned to Robert Elrod's for the night. A Deed recorded in Rowan County shows that Jonathan Boone married Mary Carter. Not far from James Wilson lived Andrew Hunt, son of Col. Hunt.

Two miles beyond, that is west, of Robert Elrod lived John Johns (Jones), a young Englishman, who had married Mrs. Robert Elrod's younger daughter. They were young people, and Soelle notes that John had been one of the wildest young men of the neighborhood, though now he was glad to hear of religious things, and to have Soelle hold services in his house.

Further up Deep Creek lived John Herrmann, who appears on the 1771 map already mentioned. On one occasion Soelle walked from Bethabara to Herrmann's in one day, leaving at 6 a.m. and reaching there between 3 and 4 o'clock. Herrmann had several sons, and another German family lived with them. Herrmann's wife was born in the Wetterau; he was a German. Of the other family (name not given) the father was born in Eisenach, and the mother in Lindheim. Herrmann's house was so near the road that many people stopped there every day.

Crossed Deep Creek to Reis' home,—also shown on the 1771 map. Ries lived five miles from John Herrman. Reis and his family had refugeed in Bethania during the Indian War. Old father Ries was in poor health, but welcomed Soelle eagerly on every visit, and rejoiced to have him hold service in his home. When Soellè was there in June, 1772, he found that the old man had recently died. His son, Valentine Ries, continued the friendship with Soelle; he either lived with his father or near by. "The people about here are wild," and Valentine had a good deal to endure from their jeers, because of his religious tendencies. On one visit it was recorded that "many English had gathered, as Mr. Cook was to preach to them." "All the Germans here understand English, also." The Baptists were very active in seeking members in this neighborhood. On one visit Soelle talked with Matthias Zimmerman, who formerly, for a year and a half, worked in Salem as a carpenter with Br. Triebel. Now he had become a Captain; and was much opposed to the Brethren. Although a brother-in-law of George Lang, Zimmerman was one of the leaders in the movement to keep Soelle out of the Deep Creek meeting house, claiming that only Lutherans or Reformed should be allowed to use it.

Having preached at Ries', Soelle went to George Lang's (Long's) for the night. Lang lived in what was known as Miller's Settlement on Deep Creek. The plantation of Christian Miller can be seen on the map of 1771; it was some miles above Ries. Christian Miller was a man past middle age, formerly rough and godless, but now he led in meeting when no one else was there to serve. George Lang was a staunch friend of Soelle, who thought highly of him,—"they and the Rieses are the only Germans hereabouts who care for religion," so it was no wonder that the Baptists tried hard to get him to join them, and that he had much to endure from the taunts of his friends.

From George Lang's it was five miles to William Grant, generally referred to as Billy Grant. He lived in what was called the Hunting Creek neighborhood, and there is mention of Grant's mill, where Temple Cole came to collect taxes in July, 1771. In addition to wife and children his old mother lived with them, a woman of eighty years, and altogether the household numbered 23 persons. Their eldest daughter was married. Grant's sister, a widow, died in March, 1772. Soelle remarks that "this is the only family in this neighborhood that has ears" for a Gospel message.

In Sept. 1772, Soelle made a trip from Grant's into the Brushy Mountains. He visited first at the home of Friedrich Lang (Long), and remarked that "they are both young people, and therefore still very

poor." The previous year he had met Friedrich Lang at the home of George Lang, and had heard that "the old mother" had broken her leg. Lang lived on the road to Fox Nobbs, which according to a Deed from Michael Henderson to Friedrich Miller, (recorded in Rowan County) was a 600 acre tract on the head waters of Deep Creek, joining Moses Woodruff, Samuel Gentry, and John Swim. Miller also had 200 acres on Deer Lick branch, joining the Fox Nobbs tract.

Passing through Fox Nobbs Soelle came to the home of "old Swim," "right at the foot of the mountains," twelve miles from Friedrich Lang, and wondered to see how well he was fixed in so short a time. It is not said where he had previously lived, though there may be a clue in the statement that his daughter had attended services in Friedland. "Though he is so high he has good corn."

From Swim's house Soelle went to Pipe's house, in Allen's Settlement, so fulfilling a promise made a year and a half previously. "The settlers here are all Irish, a robbed and plundered people, where poverty makes itself at home. When I go among the Irish I am always reminded of the Greek lines which Paul quoted concerning the inhabitants of Crete, for they fit the Irish Nation fairly well, even as Luke's comment on the Athenians,—that they are always eager to hear or to tell some new thing,—applies to the men of New England. My host received me gladly, and cared for me as well as he could; milk and cornbread was the fare practically all the time I was there, and not enough of that." A day was spent in circulating the notice of Soelle's presence, and that service would be held, and on the following day a large number gathered, so that the service had to be held out of doors. When preaching was over urgent request was made to Soelle to come and live among them, "for they are a forsaken people, to whom no one ever went, and it was more than sixty miles to the Yadkin." Soelle could not accept the invitation, but promised to visit them again when he could, a promise not to be fulfilled because of his death the next spring. The impression made upon him is indicated by his exclamation:—"It is distressing to see men in such terrible darkness; may the dear heavenly Father lighten the heavy judgment somewhat, so that their eyes may be opened to see the glory of God!"

On the Sept. 1771 trip, Soelle went from William Grant's, fourteen miles to John Buhn (Boone). According to the Grant from Granville to John Boone, 1753, recorded in Rowan County, Boone owned 630 acres on the north side of Hunting Creek.

Next day he preached in a meeting house five miles from the Boone home, then came eastward to Dutchman's Creek, where he spent the

night with Heinrich Bube, whose brother had belonged to the Brethren's congregation in Philadelphia, and had died there.

Having preached at Bube's, Soelle set out for Morgan Bryant's, reaching there before evening. Morgan Bryant was a very large land owner; the earliest Deed book of Rowan County shows Grants to him from Granville of nearly 2,200 acres, and he probably had much more. Two of these grants put him into possession of 810 acres of land south of Deep Creek, and at the time of Soelle's visit he doubtless was living there. He also owned land on the north side of the Yadkin, above the mouth of Elk River.

The next night Soelle spent with William (Billy) Bryant, whose land lay along the Yadkin, on the south side, at the western curve of what is locally called The Bend. His wife had been baptised by Murphee. Their eldest son was a boy of fifteen or sixteen years.

It was possible to go from William Bryant's up the right bank (here the west bank) of the Yadkin to the Shallow Ford, and thence on the Shallow Ford road to Salem, passing Robert Lanier's store on the road near the east bank of the River, but more often Soelle followed the route taken in Sept. 1771, and went from William Bryant's to "dear David Johns," (Jones). David Jones was an unmarried man, "who owned his own land." A Grant and two Deeds in Rowan County show that David Jones, Sr. secured 220 acres of land on the Yadkin River, which was later divided between John Jones and David Jones, Jr. In 1777 David Jones sold to Stephen Riddle, and the ferry across the River at that point came to be called Riddle's Ferry; later it was known as Idol's Ferry; it crossed the river a short distance above the modern plant of the Southern Power Company.

Having crossed the River at David Jones's, Soelle visited Henrich Buckner, a native of Switzerland, whose wife, Catherine, was of Dutch stock. Catharine was a sister of Mrs. Christopher Ellroth (Elrod), who lived two miles away. Christopher Elrod and his wife later joined the Moravian congregation of Hope, so the facts of their lives are of record and need not be here inserted, further than to say that Mrs. Buckner's maiden name was Soelle, and her parents originally Menonites. Nothing is said as to relationship to George Soelle. At Christopher Elrod's Soelle found Peter Sehner, Jr. "industrious and well-behaved." He also visited John Douthit, Sr. and Valentine Frey, who lived west of Muddy Creek, and whose location can be found on the map of Wachovia, facing page 310 in Vol. I of the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. Both Douthit and Frey became members of Hope congregation. On May 15, 1771, Soelle notes that "the School House

in the Ellroth settlement is to be about a hundred rods from the road to Cross Creek, between Douthit, Ellroth, and Jacob Hauser."

From Frey's, Soelle went across Muddy Creek and the South Fork of Muddy Creek to Friedberg; and from there back to Salem.

2) Visits to a somewhat different section, though partly overlapping the above, were made by Soelle in June, 1772 and Feb. 1773. Combined they give the following information as to points touched.

Setting out from Friedberg, Soelle stopped first at the home of Valentine Frey, above mentioned; and in his Diary remarks that he knew the Freys fourteen years earlier in Pennsylvania; also notes that so many people stop at Frey's that he feels sorry for the two old people. From there he went by Samuel Bryant's to Gabriel Enox', where he found the wife ill, with her mother in attendance.

Spent the night at the home of Joseph Bryant, "a polite and affable man," who cannot read, but is well-to-do. "I had not been in this neighborhood before; death [spiritual] reigns, and the people seem to have much of this world's goods." Bryant himself was "as yet without eyes or ears," but he and his wife made Soelle welcome, and the service, which was largely attended, was held by his spring in the shade of the trees.

On the way to Dutchman's Creek Soelle called on a man whose name he variously spells as Hoehnelein, Hoehele, and Heinele, a German by birth. On Dutchman's Creek he stopped with Christoph Bube and his wife, old people. Christoph was evidently a brother of Heinrich Bube, for the statement is repeated that his brother had been a member of the Brethren's congregation in Philadelphia, and had died there. On his first visit Soelle noted that four families in the neighborhood were interested, but the rest would not listen to a Dissenter. But in 1773 he wrote: "Last time the Germans here were very bigoted, and opposed to me, but this time many came."

Between Dutchman's Creek and the South Yadkin lived Daniel Lewis. He and his wife were of Quaker stock. Lewis's meeting house was near by, and they begged Soelle to come and live with them. Half a mile from the meeting house lived Trautz, a German, with a son sixteen years old, and others younger.

Pastor Wartmann is mentioned as living in the Dutchman's Creek neighborhood, having been born in Hanover, and being an educated, ordained minister. Van Cleft, a Dutchman, sixty years old, was a leader in the group that gathered at the Dutchman's Creek meeting house.

From the home of Daniel Lewis, Soelle went to John Boone, already mentioned, who "will probably join the Baptists for the sake of Communion."

In Sept. 1771, Soelle went fifteen miles from John Boone to William Grant; and then from Grant's to the home of Nathanael Buhn (Boone), "a good day's ride to the mountains," over a very bad path. He notes that the country is thinly settled, most of the men having come in from Virginia two or three years earlier. Boone's wife was a daughter of Joseph Bryant.

In June, 1772, however, Soelle turned from John Boone towards Dutchman's Creek, having first visited Hughes, a store-keeper, who had only one arm. "He and his wife are young people, who do not understand each other." He is probably the Joseph Hughes, "one-handed," "a peddler," who is mentioned in the Wachovia Diaries of 1770 and 1771. It was ten miles from Boone's, across Dutchman's Creek, to Morgan Bryant's, where he met "old Col. Hunt." James Bryant is mentioned as a son of Morgan Bryant.

At James Wilson's house the service was held in the woods on account of the number present. Then Soelle went to Abraham Wilson's; and on to Robert Elrods', where he held service, baptised the child of Henry and Rachel Speer, and spoke with Henn and his wife, young people from the Byrant Settlement.

At William Bryant's he saw "old mother Boone," who was a Quaker; also visited in the home of Thomas Bryant. Thomas Bryant's wife was the eldest daughter of old Col. Hunt. "The people here speak of building a meeting house, and ask if I will not come to them regularly."

From William Bryant's Soelle evidently passed to the Shallow Ford, stopping to speak to Mosby and wife, who had "a large and very wild family." And then back to Salem.

In November, 1771, Soelle made a trip to the South Fork, the River Settlement, the Jersey Settlement and the Uharie. Taking this tour as the basis, and filling in from others, the following notes give items regarding certain settlers to the south and southeast of Wachovia.

1) Having visited various families in the South Fork, or Friedberg, settlement, Soelle spent the night with Christel (Christian) Frey, whose house was a usual stopping place for travelers going to Salisbury also. "There is nothing more pleasant than to find at least one soul that knows its poverty, but one may search with a lantern and scarcely find one within many miles."

Next day Frey accompanied him to the home of George Reed, in the River Settlement on the Yadkin. Reed "is a man who loves the truth,

and gladly listens," "but he has as yet little light." His home was "twenty miles from Wilson's, and twenty miles from Salem"; and on a later trip Soelle remarks that the Reed house was so cold that his feet did not get warm during the two days he was there.

With Reed, Soelle attended a meeting in the neighborhood, and was asked to preach, which he did. He was followed by Mr. Baumann, the teacher there, who "made many exclamations over the points in the sermon, urging the people to take them to heart, for their eternal salvation. This was not pleasing to me, but I must learn to be all things to all men, if thereby I may save one or two." Baumann came from Virginia in the fall of 1770, and was serving as an exhorter in that neighborhood. In Jan. 1773, Soelle noted that a meeting house had been erected five miles from George Reed, and that Baumann had recently been ordained as a Baptist minister. "The Baptists are active here and in Virginia, but in Pennsylvania they sleep."

The widow Marrill and her children attended Soelle's services in the River Settlement. Soelle says that "she cannot forget the fate of her husband," but unfortunately does not state what the sad fate was.

From the River Settlement Soelle crossed Abbotts Creek to the house of Leonard Kern, a German, "who holds services for the neighbors, and catechises the children."

His invitation to the Jersey Settlement had come from John Pipes, who lived forty miles from Bethabara.

From the Jersey Settlement Soelle went toward the Uharie (here spelled Juvare). Kern accompanied him two miles, and was most friendly; but later Soelle lost his way, finally reaching the home of Jacob Roth, a Dunkard. Hearing that Soelle belonged to the Brethren Roth asked for a meeting, and two Englishmen who were there expressed the same wish, so Soelle set a time when he could return to them.

Four miles further on he reached the home of Dewald Fant, where he spent the night. Many neighbors gathered in, asking innumerable questions. "These people are of a definite species, and remind me of the crow in Esop's Fable, which made itself great with the feathers of other birds. They have Moravian, Dunkard, Separatist, Baptist principles, know everything and know nothing, despise others, hold to no one, and reject all others. With only one soul was there an opportunity to really speak; and she was the only one to ask me to come again to this neighborhood." The Dewald Fants had many children. One son was married, and had two children, of four and three years, both blind. The day after this was written Soelle held a public service, and records that "the hearts and ears of the people were open, and they melted like

wax in the fire, especially dear Jacob Roth," who spoke of selling his land in order to move nearer the settlement of the Brethren, though Soelle advised against this.

Next day Roth rode with Soelle to the house of Mr. Mobray, on the Uharie. "Mr. Mobray lives on rich land, the best I have seen in Carolina," but he does not own it. He has a rather large family. "He gave me to understand that he planned to buy land in Wachovia from the Brethren, since he could not secure that on which he lived. Men give him a bad name."

On the following day services were held at the home of John Kimborough, the most important man in the neighborhood. He was quite young, but the Assembly Man for Gilbert [Guilford] County. Soelle preached here several times, on various trips, and made interesting notes of his experiences. "There was close attention, emotion and tears. People remarked that they had never seen so quiet a service." "Many Free Masons live in this section." The service was attended by people of many religious beliefs, "a bewildered people." In April, 1772, Kimborough as spokesman made Soelle a definite offer, urging him to become their pastor, but he was obliged to refuse. In March, 1773, it is noted that John Kimborough is having a Tavern built, to relieve his house from the constant stream of visitors.

The next night Soelle spent with Bradley Kimborough. He and his wife were elderly people, members of the Church of England, and "hungry for the Gospel." "The neighbors say: 'We won't go to his house, because he falls upon us with the Gospel'." In March, 1773, Soelle preached the first sermon in a new meeting house near Bradley Kimborough's, and notes that there are only three meeting houses between Salem and the Uharie,—Friedland, Welborn's, and Kimborough's.

On this Nov. 1771 trip, Soelle returned from Bradley Kimborough's by way of Jacob Wagner's. He lived on Abbotts Creek. From there he went to the home of Peter Frey; to Bachhof, at Friedberg; and thence to Salem.

2) There were naturally a number of ways in which it was possible to go from Salem to the Uharie, passing, as Soelle did, from house to house as invited. In April, 1772, he went first to Richard Ulrich, "I will take the road by his house, which is much shorter."

Five miles further on lived Billingley, a young man who had a desire for good; "most people about here are without God or God's Word." The meeting house of 1773 was built half a mile beyond Billingley toward Bradley Kimborough's.

Beyond Bradley Kimborough lived George Hermann and his family. They were of German birth, "old, honorable and religious people," most of the children being grown.

Joseph Robbins' house was a meeting place for the Baptists, of whom there were only about ten in the neighborhood. There Soelle met the Baptist minister, Davis, who cordially invited him to come to Haw River. Soelle spoke in the morning to about 200 persons, and the Baptist minister in the afternoon. Davis was the only ordained man among these Baptists, and Soelle thought him "an earnest, well-meaning man, who with all his might pointed the people to the atoning power of Christ, assuring them that it mattered little whether they belonged to one or to another denomination, whether they were plunged, dipped or sprinkled, for the blood of Christ must be their righteousness, and it must be sprinkled in their hearts, otherwise nothing would help." "In the evening I had to answer many difficult questions, especially with regard to Infant Baptism, and the Saviour gave me grace to answer all modestly, and to show them where I thought their mistake was; the minister himself kept very quiet. There are souls here that one can love, and that are tender, but others are empty vessels, and it is the latter who do most of the chattering. I went to bed, but the others sat around until day, talking with each other." "The next day there was a baptising; not so many came as yesterday." Soelle saw four persons baptised, and remarks that the service "charmed" him, "with its accordance with the words of Romans VI, 4, 'Now are we also buried,' and if they had had on white garments it would have made a pretty picture." Soelle did not feel moved to talk, but was especially invited to do so after the baptismal service, and made a short address on Matt. XI, 25-28. Then the Baptists had Communion, being ten in number, including the newly baptised. Soelle adds the story of the drunken man, which is referred to in the Salem Diary. "Before the first meeting began I was standing in the doorway talking to a man, when a young man came up who had been drinking. He said to us that we should make him repentant, for he was drunk and had industriously made himself so. I did not answer him, but the other man told him that if he had come to disturb the house of God then the hand of the Lord would be laid heavily upon him. A moment later such an attack of colic came upon him that his drunkenness passed away, and he had to be carried to bed, where he lay all day in great pain."

Four miles beyond Joseph Robbins lived Conrad Breyel, a German, where Soelle held his next meeting. From there he went to John Kimborough, Bradley Kimborough, and back to Salem.

3) Journeys made in Nov. 1772, and in January and April, 1773, give some additional names of families in the same neighborhoods as the above.

On Abbotts Creek there was Mr. Ross, an elderly man, who "asked whether what people said of me was true, that is whether I was a Free Mason, which was the reason the Moravians did not love me. I only laughed and did not think the question worth an answer, for I am always comforted when what the people say of me is a plain lie." At Ross's home Soelle notes that the breakfast consisted of fat meat and sauer-kraut.

"Old Peter Kühn" is mentioned in the Abbotts Creek neighborhood; also the widow Parloer, an elderly woman, a neighbor of Jacob Wagner. Her husband, whose first name is not given, had died in 1771.

The Baptist preacher and teacher of this Abbotts Creek neighborhood was Stotsmann, "an earnest, serious, loyal man."

Passing Bradley Kimborough's to George Hermann's, Soelle heard that "Mr. Peace has given £5: toward the meeting house, as he has bought land near by and plans to move here."

After visiting John Kimborough, Soelle called on the elderly George Hartmann; then went six miles to the home of Briel, on Carraway Creek, where a largely attended meeting was held. "In a straight line of thirty miles I have now three preaching places." "Most of the English on the Carraway are Baptists; there are many Irish highwaymen, and today many young men were pressed to go after and capture them,"—so he wrote on April 12, 1773. Curtel Bryel and his wife were the parents of the young man who committed suicide in the fall of 1771; they had another son, married, whose first name is not given, and it is not clear in which home the above-mentioned meeting was held. Soelle's regular engagement was to hold service for the Germans in that neighborhood, though many English also came.

In July, 1772, Soelle went northeast from Salem, to Belews Creek, stopping at the home of Bernard Fehr, a man who feared God, kept good order in his house, and had properly trained children. There Soelle kept two services, one for the Germans and one for the English; and he records that many of the English and Irish living thereabouts have recently come from Virginia.

On Aug. 15, 1772, Soelle took a longer trip in the same general direction. He went first to Belews Creek, over the "new road" which he found very bad, to the home of Seeler, a man who was very poor, but hospitable. "Just as many Germans live here as in Friedland," and

for them Soelle kept a service, following it with a meeting held in English, for which all of the Germans remained, standing about the door under the sun-screen.

Rudolph Andreas lived on the road to Alamance (here spelled Elements), and with him Soelle spent the night.

The next evening he reached the so-called Buffalo Settlement, after a long journey over an unknown road. All the residents here were Presbyterians, rich and well-satisfied with themselves. Soelle stayed with David Care, in whose home Brethren had often stopped on former journeys, but Care said he had never discussed the doctrines of the Moravians with them, and Soelle had many questions to answer. Next morning Soelle was greatly distressed to find that his horse had wandered away, and half a day passed before it was found and returned to him. "Better on foot than on horseback, so has a man no care, but that is forbidden to me now."

Ludwig Eisele, in the Alamance section, was at first rather distant, but soon became friendly and helpful, and the next day he rode three miles with Soelle to the home of Jacob Christmann.

Christmann had known the Brethren for some time. His daughter was in service in Salem, and married there, and a son also settled there. When Soelle arrived request was at once made that he hold service in the local meeting house, and as the leader of the congregation agreed notice was at once sent out. As a general thing service was held for them once in four weeks by Sutor.

Scarcely had Soelle reached the church next day when an old Dunkard came up and began to discuss Infant Baptism, warning Soelle against it. While they were talking a man came to ask for the baptism of his child, as he did not wish to have it baptised by a minister of the Reformed Church,—and the Dunkard went away in disgust, and after some conversation with the father Soelle promised to baptise the child, which he did after making an address on the sacrament of Baptism. The old Dunkard looked and listened, and exclaimed: "O what a pity! The last has spoiled the former!" But the people thanked him repeatedly for what they had heard, and begged him to come again.

After the services Soelle set out again, and taking the wrong path he rode twelve miles, coming to the Trading Path just where the battle of Alamance had taken place; near by was a fenced-in burying ground. In the evening he reached the home of David Lau, who received him cordially.

Lau introduced Soelle to Nott, the school teacher of Stinking Water, "a dear man, humble, with a warm heart for the Saviour, and eyes that fill with tears when the talk is of the Saviour's sufferings. I had

not expected to find so precious a soul among these people, who in general appear to be orderly, honorable and religious. One is happy to find such a pearl. This dear man, who is poor in this world's goods," was to hold a funeral service that afternoon and asked Soelle to be present. After the burial the company went into the school-house, and Soelle spoke to them of the "blessedness of a heart-knowledge of Him Who was crucified." "The settlers in Alamance and Stinking Water are nearly all German. They have four churches, one in Alamance and three in Stinking Water; the newest is large, and has a pulpit and galleries. Sutor preaches in all of them, and Nott reads when there is no preaching." Sutor was a Swiss, "unlettered and unordained," and "from my heart I pitied the poor people, who spend their money where there is nothing to buy." They had engaged Sutor for four years. On Sunday Sutor was rather taken aback to find Soelle in the church; Soelle had intended to leave earlier, but the people had begged him to stay. Sutor spoke first, and Soelle gained the impressions above recorded; then Soelle spoke, and noted that his words found entrance into hearts, and that eyes filled with tears, though only one man besides Nott sought private conversation with him. No one was by when Nott took leave of Soelle, throwing his arms around his neck and kissing him in brotherly fashion.

Then Soelle set out for Rock River, to visit the Baptist preacher, Syms. In March this man Syms and two others were in the Salem Brothers House, having stopped there to buy some food. As they were in the kitchen Soelle chanced to step in, and began to talk with them about the new birth of the heart, when Syms exclaimed: "Thanks be to God that I have found a child of God in this house!" He also begged Soelle to visit him. After a trying day, in which Soelle rode eighteen miles searching for his home, he at last reached his destination, and was made heartily welcome. "He is a very poor man, for it is the custom and rule of the Baptists not to pay their preachers, and they must support themselves by the work of their own hands, in spite of the fact that they must visit and serve the people committed to their charge. Some of the members do not approve of this." With Syms' approval Soelle held a meeting for the German-speaking settlers at the home of a man named Seiler, who knew some of the Brethren, especially Schaub; Syms accompanied Soelle to this meeting, and followed his address with a few words begging those present to let the words sink into their hearts and take root there.

Next day Seiler took him two miles to the "big road" to Carraway Creek, but the way thither was so long that Soelle had to spend the

night en route, finding a lodging "bad enough and dear also." In the morning he passed through Poolcats Settlement, where all the corn was ruined. A storm forced him to stop at a house, where he found a woman who had heard him preach on Carraway; and another woman and a boy came in who showed him the way through the woods to the home of the elder Breiel.

He went six miles to the home of George Hermann. Muster was being held at John Kimborough's house, and hearing that Soelle was there Kimborough announced to the company that Soelle would hold a service on the following day, when he spoke "on the man without Christ, and the man in Christ," according to Eph. II, 1-5.

On the following day Soelle returned to Salem.

North of Belews Creek, and therefore a little east of north from Salem, lies the Town Fork of Dan River. Settlers came there as early as they did to Wachovia, and the Moravian ministers visited there from time to time. They seem, however, not to have met with much success, for in April, 1771, Soelle wrote: "The people on this side of the Yadkin are much deader than on the other side, but the Gospel must be preached to the dead also." In Sept. 1772, he visited at the home of the Mr. Benner, or Banner, with whom the Moravians had been friendly ever since they came to North Carolina, and again recorded his sad impression that "This neighborhood is to me the darkest of all." He also made two trips into Virginia, taking the road that crossed the Town Fork. Combining the accounts of these two trips,—May and October, 1772, the following items appear concerning the men living along that road.

Not far from Benner, on the Town Fork, lived James Hampton, at whose house meetings were held by Soelle, and some of the rough, wild spirits were moved to tears by his words.

Eight miles from there lived Moses Martin, where Soelle spent the night, enjoying the well-trained, quiet, orderly children.

Passing on to the Meho River, on the May trip, Soelle found a tavern, but it was full of godless men, so he spent the night at a neighboring plantation belonging to a man named Lemon, who had no feed for Soelle's horse, and no pasture, so the following day Soelle must needs walk and lead the horse, letting it graze by the roadside.

On the October trip Soelle crossed the Meho and went to the home of Mr. Vernon, but found poverty there also, little for the family to eat, and nothing for his horse, which again had to feed by the roadside on the following day. Two miles from there was a meeting house in

which Soelle preached, in accordance with a promise made to Vernon in Salem eight days before. He spent the night with a Mr. Pratt, who had a house by the side of the road. He was a quiet, respectable man, with a large family; his wife was sick.

Next day he crossed Smith's River, and at evening reached the home of Mr. Peter Porkins [Perkins], a rich, busy man, living on the road to Pennsylvania. "Most of the settlers hereabouts are religious, some Baptists among them."

At the home of Mr. Harris he was made most heartily welcome. This Baptist minister had just returned from a trip to the neighborhood of the Potomac, where there was an awakening among the Germans. With him Soelle went to the meeting house, three miles away, where a three-day "big meeting" was beginning, and at Harris' invitation Soelle preached the opening sermon. This was followed by a service in which those present were expected to tell their experiences in grace. Another Baptist minister, Mr. Lane, went to Soelle and complained about Harris, disapproving of this experience meeting and complaining that Harris would not let him speak to the people. Some had advised Lane to call a meeting of his own in the woods, but Soelle suggested that it would be better to discuss the differences quietly with Harris, and Harris and Lane really did talk together nearly all night, but without coming to an agreement. Next day a young, single man, named Lowell, preached in the morning, and Soelle in the afternoon. While the Baptists remained for Communion Soelle went home with Mr. Lowell, who told him how he had been awakened, and how he was still uncertain and restless. "It is a great pity that in this part of the world a man who is half awakened turns to the converting of others and begins to preach, before he himself has been thoroughly healed." Mr. Lowell had been imprisoned because of his preaching, and had been released only two weeks before Soelle met him.

Before reaching the home of Capt. Roberts Soelle had to cross several creeks, very stony in dry weather, so that the horse stumbled, and doubly difficult in rainy weather, when the streams were swollen. On the visit in May Soelle found a young minister of the Church of England at Roberts' house. "When he learned that I was to be counted among the educated he began to quote some lines from Homer," and later wished to discuss the Moravians, of whose doctrine he had many mistaken ideas, which he said he had read. "I told him that many evil things were written, that in this world many useless and worse than useless books were printed, and that if they could be taken out of the hands of men and sunk into the sea it would be a good thing, for they served only to lead men astray." The family of Capt. Roberts was large; their outward circumstances pressing.

Having spent the night with a Presbyterian family Soelle went to the home of Nicolas Porkins, a young man; and at the invitation of Mr. Land preached in the nearby meeting house. Mr. Land had formerly lived on Abbotts Creek, and had belonged to the Church of England, but having found inspiration in the preaching of Baptists he had joined them. Next day Soelle returned to the Presbyterian family and held a service for the Presbyterians of that neighborhood.

Returning to Peter Porkins, Soelle set out for home, spending a night with Mr. Pratt, and the next night with a Mr. Harding. The day spent with Mr. Harding, Nov. 6th, happened to be Soelle's birthday,—he was sixty-three years old. In the morning he waked with a special sense of the nearness of the Saviour, and wrote in his Diary: "Heaven and earth are His, a house, a church, a road, a tree, are alike to Him."

Crossing the Dan to Moses Martin's, Soelle meant to visit Michael Seitz, but it was raining and the path was overhung with wet leaves, so he went on to Peter Frey's, and found his house in ashes! Fortunately the family had been able to save their belongings, though the fire had been at night, and Peter himself not at home.

From here Soelle went back to Salem, by way of Banner's on Town Fork, and Bernhard Fehr's on Belews Creek.

Soelle died on May 4, 1773, and on July 23d Richard Utley set out on a tour of the homes and preaching places in the direction of Deep Creek. Most of the families named in his Diary have already been mentioned, but the course he took is of interest, particularly because at every home where he spent a night he read the Memoir of Br. Soelle, which had been prepared in accordance with the custom of the Moravians.

July 23. Left Salem; visited Daniel Smith, Douthid, Christopher Ellrod, spending the night with the latter.

July 24. Preached at Adam Ellrod's; crossed the Atkin; visited Col. Hunt; spent the night with Morgan Bryant.

July 25. Preached in Timber Ridge meeting house, being accompanied thither by James Bryant, son of Morgan Bryant. Spent the night with John Bryant.

July 26. Rode with Col. Hunt to the home of George Lang, on Deep Creek; spent the night with George Lang's brother, Frederic.

July 28. Preached in Valentine Reese's house to about two hundred people; called on John Jones; spent night with Robert Ellrod.

July 29. Visited Roger Turner; also old Mr. Turner, the father, Thomas Bryant, William Bryant, James Forbush, reading the Soelle Memoir at each home. Spent the night with Morgan Bryant.

July 30. Called on Col. Hunt, George Boone, William Williams; lodged with Samuel Bryant.

July 31. Preached again in Timber Ridge meeting house.

Aug. 1. Preached at Adam Ellrod's on the Atkin. Visited the widow Goslin, and Daniel Smith; spent the night at Douthid's.

Aug. 2. Returned to Salem.

Memoir of the departed Br. George Soelle.

[Translated in full.]

He has himself prepared the following account of his journey through life.

Come here and listen, for I will relate what the Lord has done for my soul! What the God of my salvation, Who died for me upon the cross, has done for my poor, lost soul; so that other sinners, hearing it, may learn to know the gracious and merciful Saviour, and know what His blood does for poor sinners.

I was born Nov. 6, 1709, on the island Erroe, in Denmark. The grace which the Friend of Children gave me in Holy Baptism I lost little by little, as sin and depravity got the upper hand. For a while I continued to like to sing religious songs, but gradually lost those also. In my twelfth year I was overcome with such an alarm and fear of God that I went into the church, threw myself on the floor, and besought the dear God with many tears to forgive my sins. My fear passed, and I felt safe, but for twelve more years went my own way.

In 1734, when in the school at Odensee, a new unrest came over me, I felt how terrible sin was, prayed and wept, and felt much anxiety, until I was pale as a corpse. For several years I was greatly oppressed and miserable, and as all around me were dead in sin I often wished that I could find just one man with whom I could speak. Meanwhile I experienced many evidences of the grace of the Saviour in my heart and received comfort, and because the salvation of my soul lay so near to my heart I thought about it day and night, even dreaming about it. Once I saw a beautiful vine, with blood-red grapes, from which my hands and feet were stained red as blood. Another time it seemed that I was one of the men who were carrying the body of the Saviour, and as it disappeared from our hands I heard a voice say three times: "The Brethren have overcome." At that time I had not heard one word concerning the Unity of Brethren.

In 1741 I was called and ordained as a Lutheran minister, and bore witness publicly of the grace which leads poor sinners to the feet of Jesus; wherefore men took me for a Herrnhuter, though when I was

questioned about it I could only say that I had heard nothing about them.

But soon after, that is in 1742, I learned to know Br. Grasmann, the first of the Brethren that I had met, and his life and conversation suited me well. Then I first learned of the sin of all sins, the lack of faith in the atonement of the Saviour, which I had not hitherto felt in my heart. Now at last my lost condition was evident to me, and it was hard for me to speak and to preach of the Saviour, for I did not yet know Him, nor could call Him mine. I did not recognise this as a testing and temptation, but thought and felt that on account of my lack of faith I was a lost and condemned sinner. Then the crucified Saviour appeared to me, as He died upon the cross for my sins, and faith sealed in my heart through His blood: "All thy sins are forgiven thee." I felt the peace of God in my heart, grace overflowed my heart from His wounds, and I was as though new born.

In 1747 my old Principal, whose Deacon I was, died in his 82nd year as a sinner redeemed by the blood of Jesus. This freed me from my office, and as the Saviour made clear to my heart that I belonged in the Unity of Brethren I resolved to join them. In 1748 I consulted the Brethren in Copenhagen, and they advised against the change, recommending that I remain where I was, and there serve the Saviour. But I had no rest in my heart until on Michaelmas I preached my farewell sermon and set out for the Unity.

I reached Herrnhaag on Oct. 26th, when the Text for the day was the beautiful phrase: "I dwell among my people." I moved to Marienborn, where I was Received on Dec. 1st; and in April, 1749, I partook of the Holy Communion for the first time with the congregation. During this time I enjoyed indescribable blessedness in my heart, and made fast the covenant with my Saviour that nothing should sever me from His wounds, His blood, His death, which covenant He has made to endure. Afterwards I went with several Brethren to Barby, where for three years I found a blessed school for my heart, I learnt to know myself better, and the Saviour showed me much grace.

In 1753 I received a call to America, and reached Bethlehem on Sept 14th, with several other Brethren, being conscious of the presence of the Saviour, Who showed Himself to me in grace. From that center I preached the gospel of Jesus' sufferings and death in Oly, Lynn, Yorktown and Philadelphia, till in 1760 I went to New England, in 1762 to Rhode Island, and from there to Broadbay, where I remained eight years; and then, in 1770, I moved with several families to Wachovia.

When I think of all the grace and mercy which the Saviour has shown to poor me during these twenty years in North America, I must needs exclaim, while tears wet my cheeks: "Lord I am too small for all the mercy and faithfulness which Thou hast shown to me!"

So far goes the account of the departed Brother, as he wrote it.

In 1770, when he could once more celebrate his birthday (the 62nd) within the Unity, and could again share in the Holy Communion, he was very thankful, and often said that the Saviour had brought him back to his home among the Brethren. He was soon lodged in the Salem Brothers House, where he rejoiced to share in the grace and blessings of the congregation and of the Single Brethren's Choir, and was strengthened anew by all that the Saviour does for poor sinners who hold to Him and to His Atonement. He never willingly missed a Communion, or a Festal Day of congregation or Choir, unless he was out on a preaching tour, and he always said that the Saviour refreshed him thereby, and gave praises to Him therefor. Then with new zeal he would go out again to preach the Gospel of the sufferings and death of Jesus.

During the last year he not only proclaimed this Gospel in Wachovia and the adjoining regions, but he went twice into Virginia, preaching with power and grace. And he often prayed earnestly, and begged: "O Brother, help me pray that the Gospel may bring forth abiding fruit for eternity, that the poor souls may realize their miserable and lost condition, may come to the Saviour and His wounds, may turn to Him with their whole hearts, may learn to believe on Jesus, and may be saved."

Recently he has thought and has often told the Brethren that his time here would soon be over, and that his wish and desire to be at home with his dear Lord would soon be fulfilled.

On last Good Friday he held the first public service in the new meeting house at Friedland, and proclaimed the death of the Lord with grace and spirit. Then he journeyed to the Hugh Warren [Uharie] in order to preach there on Easter Day. There he wrote: "In spirit I was in Salem; my Friend held Himself near to me and I to Him." And he said further that his meditation was that His children lay their bodies in the earth to rest, as He rested in the grave, and as He rose so shall they also some day arise, and this mortal shall put on immortality.

On April 28th he set out on his last journey to the Atkin, in order to preach there. In spite of his age and weakness he was apparently well, and took a hearty leave of the Brethren, as he always did when

leaving for a trip, commending himself to their prayers and thoughts before the Lord. On the journey he became so ill that he was not able to hold the service for May 2nd. He still had strength enough that he hoped to reach home, so on the 2nd several friends brought him to Friedberg School-House; and from there Br. Bachhof accompanied him to Salem the next day. He was then so weak that he had to be lifted from his horse and carried to his room. All possible medical aid was at once given, but it was soon evident that medicine no longer had any effect, and that the Saviour would take him home into His joy. He himself said that no medicine would serve, if the Saviour wished to take him to Himself, and that he was willing that He should do what He chose.

The last evening before his blessed home-going some of the Brethren came to visit him. He was asked whether he saw the Brethren, who loved him and had come to see him? He answered: "I am very happy that the Brethren love me; I am very weak and weary of body, but my heart is well." He was also asked whether he was going to the Saviour? He replied: "I am ready, but I do not yet know; I have resigned myself to His will. For Him have I lived, Who bought me with His precious, divine blood. O how blessed it is when a heart seeks and knows nothing but to live for the Saviour. O that all men might know how to value their salvation, and what an unspeakable grace and blessing it is, through the incarnation and the atoning death of Jesus, to be redeemed, and to live for Him Who redeemed us." For about half an hour he spoke of the blessings which his heart had experienced through the wounds of Jesus. After he had spoken of the Saviour, in English and in German, as though he had many hearers, the Brethren sang several hymns for him, and he joined with a weak voice until the final moment drew near. On the evening of the 4th of May, at eleven o'clock, in his 64th year, after he had received the blessing of his Choir and of the Church in the words: "Into the peace of Jesus we commit thy spirit, soul and body, thou brother of the Lord," he expired gently and blessedly in the arms of Jesus.

The members of his Single Brothers Choir, whom to the end he loved so dearly, and in whose joy and sorrow he ever took such a deep interest, add the following:—We, who are eye-witnesses of his departure, cannot describe how deeply we felt the presence of God. Our hearts were tender, and were melted by the feeling that was there; it was nothing less than as if the Saviour Himself were in the room, and had come to take His servant home. The plentiful tears of the Brethren bore witness to this, and we shall keep it in eternal remembrance.

From the Bagge MS.

During the years 1773 and 1774 the quarrel between Great Britain and the Colonies continued, because of a new Act of the English Parliament which required that all tea shipped to America must first have paid a tax in England. All the Colonies resented this, and when the East India Company sent shiploads of tea into the chief harbors, intending to open a warehouse at each place, the ships were nowhere well received. In Boston a mob seized the tea and threw it into the water; in Charlestown it was locked up in a warehouse, where much of it spoiled, at least none was sold until after the War had broken out. As North Carolina had no good harbor nor commercially important city on the sea, no such tea came here, and most of the people considered the acts of the other Colonies as madness, though there were some who approved of what had been done. These belonged to the Presbyterian Party, which undermined the influence of Governor Martin from time to time. The Governor, no doubt in obedience to orders from his superiors, refused to sanction laws which the Assemblies of 1773 and 1774 wished to make, looking toward the holding of Superior Courts in the several Districts as usual, this being because the Assembly insisted that the property of an Englishman, lying in North Carolina, might be seized and sold at public auction to pay his debts owed to Colonists here, just as the property of a Colonist, when it was in England, might be taken and sold to satisfy debts owed by the Colonist there. This refusal to allow the holding of Superior Courts created much confusion, and caused many murmurs among the people, which the aforesaid Party tried constantly to increase. Meanwhile, according to an Act of 1774, a Court of Oyer and Terminer was held in each County, for the trial of greater and smaller offenses. Such a Court was held in Surry County also, the Judge being Richard Caswell, later Governor of this State, who stopped in Salem on his way. It is said that Governor Martin did much harm in North Carolina by insisting so strongly upon the prerogatives of his King, and by talking of it so constantly that it gave great offense. It was also said that when many members of the Assembly saw how insistent the Governor was concerning such prerogatives they dissembled before him, and so brought it to pass that they secured offices and positions which they later used against the King.

Wachovia Memorabilia, 1774.

[There are two copies of the Wachovia Memorabilia filed, one somewhat shortened in form. As there is necessarily much repetition in the Memorabilia from year to year the shorter form is here used, except where some item was omitted that needs to be given,—the paragraphs taken from the longer copy are enclosed in brackets []. Where unimportant paragraphs are omitted * * * are used, otherwise it is a full translation.]

During the year that has passed we have received many general and special tokens of the presence of the Saviour in our midst. He has given spirit and power to the reading of the Old and New Testament, to public testimony, and to the reading, from the Wochen and other Gemein Nachrichten, of sermons, and reports concerning the blessed work of God throughout the entire world. He has graciously watched over the deliberations in the Conferences, and often, in difficult circumstances, has given advice and help. The Festivals and Days of Remembrance for the whole Christian Church, and for the Unity of Brethren in particular, have been days of happy thanksgiving, on which we have renewed our determination to abide by the Cross of Jesus, until we shall see Him face to face. Especially was that the case with each celebration of the Holy Communion, as we agreed to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,—see the Text for Oct. 5th,—and the keeping of the Congregation and Choir Rules was earnestly recommended to Boards and Congregations with blessed results. We have taken it as a special proof of the Saviour's interest in us, and have thanked Him for it with tears, that He has made our Brethren and Sisters willing and able to take their part in paying the debts that were pressing so heavily on the Unity, and at the same time to cover the expenses of the respective Congregations, in spite of the hard, difficult times, caused especially by an unusually heavy frost early in May, which threatened a total failure of crops and consequent high prices. This was averted by our Heavenly Father through subsequent favorable weather, and a good yield of corn, so that we have good cause to thank and praise Him for His care. No less are we grateful for the safe arrival of Br. and Sr. Johann George Wallis, and three Single Brethren, Schreyer, Tanz and Krause, from Europe; Br. Wallis having been selected by the Saviour to be Vorsteher of Salem.

[This year the settlement of Wachovia has been increased by the arrival of nine families, about seventy persons. At a minimum estimate

there are in Wachovia, outside of the three Gemein Orten	260	persons.
In our three towns	294	"
There have died since the beginning of Wachovia	82	"
Returning to Pennsylvania or going elsewhere	71	"
Total	707	"

For various reasons, our trade has been unusually difficult, especially with the commercial towns at some distance, and there has been some loss, although we have been able to maintain the business.]

Br. Marshall has been called by the Unity's Elders Conference to attend the Synod of the Unity of Brethren, to be held next year, 1775, in Barby. In anticipation of his trip to Europe he has notified His Excellency, our Governor Josia Martin, and has assured him of the true and loyal spirit of the Brethren in this land toward our most gracious King, George III, and his Province here, which will answer as well as a formal Address. We thank the Lord that so far we have lived undisturbed under our beloved rulers, and pray that He will graciously permit this to continue.

We have also had the pleasure of a visit in Salem from Herr Rebsdorf, formerly Governor General of the three Danish West India Islands, and his companion, Capt. Bange. They stayed several days, and we assisted them on their further journey. Both these gentlemen, and especially the Governor General, proved themselves good friends to the Brethren in those Islands, and to the Missions of the Brethren among the heathen.

In addition to his duties as Congregation Vorsteher in Salem, Br. Utley has continued to visit and to preach in German and English on the Yadkin and Deep Creek. [Two years ago several families moved to Wachovia from Maryland, this year three more families have come from there, and others will follow next year. They, and other persons living this side of and beyond Muddy Creek, have written to the Brethren, offering to build a School-House in that neighborhood, and asking that a Married Couple be sent to take charge of them and their children. With this in view a bridge is being built across said Creek, and is nearly finished, and in future Br. Utley will serve these families with visits and with meetings. Br. Fritz has preached in English several times on the Town Fork, and in the neighborhood of Bethabara.

The Court of Surry County appointed Br. Reuter as Road Master for Dobbs Parish, and in obedience to a law he has measured the main roads from Salem to the nearest town or settlement, and marked the miles on trees or posts, and he has also placed sign-posts at the cross

roads on the three main roads leading out of Salem, to the great satisfaction of travelers.]

Salem. The Congregation of Salem has especial reason to thank the Lord for His faithfulness, in that the hidden evil has been brought to light and removed. He has also given grace that the Congregation and its ministers have again agreed and covenanted together to abide by the Rules of the Congregation and of the Choirs, and that if any cannot willingly live by these rules to give them permission to seek a home elsewhere, which happened in the case of several persons; and the Lord has graciously manifested His desire to be and to move among us, and to comfort us in our sorrow. * * * On Nov. 13th the Congregation blessedly celebrated its anniversary with Lovefeast and the Communion, in which the faithful Chief Elder poured out His grace upon them.

The Congregation has suffered a heavy loss through the home-going of its first Preacher, Br. Tiersch,—may the Saviour show us how to fill his place. Br. Meinung has cheerfully taken charge of the school for little boys, which Br. Tiersch had been conducting. Through the blessing of God a new building for the Store has been erected and nearly finished. [Br. Triebel has gotten under roof a house and work-shop for himself, opposite the Brothers House.] Br. Zillman has been appointed night-watchman. * * * Br. and Sr. Peter Rose have taken charge of the plantation near Salem, from which Br. and Sr. George Holder have moved away, [and have gone, with their two children, to their farm near Bethabara]. [On August 27th the Hourly Intercession, for which we have so greatly longed, was re-organized, most of the communicants taking part in it, and its meetings have been signally blessed.]

[Four couples have been married,—Peter and Anna Rosina Rose, Johann Christian and Christine Fritz, Heinrich and Anna Dorothea Stöhr, Johann and Magdalene Mücke, the last pair being from Bethabara, where they are living], and the Stöhrs having moved thither.

Additional members who have come here to live are:—the Single Brother Matthias Weis, from Bethlehem; John Hein, from Friedland; the boy, Christian Stauber, and the little girl, Johanna Fockel, from Bethabara; the little boy, Christoph Fogler [Vogler], from Friedland; the little girl, Elisabeth Hartman, from Friedberg; and Br. and Sr. George Wallis, and the Single Brethren Schryer, Tanz, and Krause, from Europe. [Br. Wallis was sent by the Lord to be our Congregation Vorsteher, a position which has been held by Br. Utley ad interim.]

The Congregation in Salem consists of 125 persons.

Bethabara. The little Congregation of Bethabara is particularly grateful for the blessed quiet and peace which it has this year enjoyed; giving it opportunity to meditate upon the Atonement of Jesus, and to read with interest the accounts in the *Gemein Nachrichten*, telling of the great work which the Saviour is doing among the members of the Brethren's Church.

[The unusual frost early in May did considerable damage on the Unity's farm.] New houses have been built for the Tavern and for the miller, and partly finished. It should be noted that in November three Cherokee Indians,—a Chief, another man, and a woman,—spent the night in Bethabara, attended the evening meeting, and seemed to desire our friendship. They were under the guidance of several white gentlemen. The most pleasant part of it was that it again looks as though there would be peace with the Indians.

Anton Kastner was married, and later he was Received and his wife was Baptised. The widower, David Rominger, has moved hither from Friedland. * * *

Bethabara Congregation consists of 64 souls.

Bethania. During the past year many circumstances have made manifest that the Saviour desires a people obedient and devoted to Him; * * * and He has overcome the evil that seemed to be spreading especially among the younger people.

The school for children has been continued with blessing. The Guardian of Israel has watched over us and shielded us in danger, as, for example, when a Brother was cutting a tree in which another had lodged. Both fell at once, and [his leg being between them] he would have been crushed or killed, had not the angels protected him. A girl was drawing water behind her house, when a snake coiled itself around her bare leg, but she escaped from it unharmed.

One couple, Heinrich and Elisabeth Spoenhauer, have been married. A married Sister, living outside the town, was Received into the Congregation, became a Candidate for the Holy Communion, and being very ill she was allowed to become a partaker of the Sacrament. The little girl, Margaretha Fogler, from Friedland, has come into the care of Br. and Sr. Grabs. * * * Br. Bulitschek, his wife and five children, have moved from Bethania to their farm. * * *

The Congregation numbers 101, with the addition of ten married couples living outside the town, of whom all except three men are Communicants.

Friedberg. [The little Congregation and the Society in Friedberg acknowledge with thankful hearts that their Creator and Saviour has revealed Himself to them as the work of His hands. * * * The public preaching of the Gospel, and the reading of printed and manuscript sermons and Gemein Nachrichten, and the visits from members of the Aeltesten Conferenz of Salem, were a blessing to them.

This year the Congregation has been increased by the coming of five families from Yorktown, Pa. namely Marcus Hoens, Martin Ebert, Friedrich Müller, Peter Schneider, Melchoir Fischer, and their families,—a total of forty, including the children. The first four couples and one Single Sister are Communicants. A Congregation Council has been organized [Aug. 14th], consisting of the Communicants of the Congregation, and among other things they have planned, according to their means, to contribute to the needs of the Unity as a whole. During the Passion Week, before the Communion, the Pedilavium was celebrated for the first time.

Wilhelm Booner and his wife and the widow Goslin joined the Society; later Booner joined the Congregation by Adult Baptism, receiving the name Joseph Wilhelm, and the married man, Peter Frey, and the married woman, Catharine Frey, were Received. * * * George Hahns and his family have moved to Friedland. * * * The Congregation consists of 32 Communicants and 12 Received, and there are 23 in the Society.]

Friedland. The Society in Friedland has been visited every fourteen days by Brethren from Salem, especially Br. Valentine Beck, and these Brethren have held services for them. Two families from (Yorktown) Pennsylvania, and one from Friedberg, have moved here this year.

The Society members sent a letter to the Aeltesten Conferenz in Salem, signed by fifteen house-fathers, asking that a Brother and his wife might come to them and their children; which will be granted so soon as their School-House is finished. * * * Fifteen families have signed the Society Rules and Regulations; of these two couples go to Friedberg once in two months for the Communion.

Salem Diary, 1774.

[Extracts translated.]

[The troubles in Salem and Bethania, referred to in the Memorabilia, were largely matrimonial. Early in the year a Single Brother in Salem engaged himself to marry the daughter of a Society Member

in Bethania, without consulting the officers of his Choir or the Congregation. As secret engagements were contrary to the Rules and Regulations to which he had pledged his obedience, and as he persisted in his self-will, he was given the *consilium abeundi*, but his marriage made trouble for a while in Bethania, while in the Salem Single Brothers House several of his comrades were insubordinate and annoying. Two of them finally received the formal notice to leave town; one of these soon returned, asked pardon, and was allowed to remain, while other Brethren who had been drawn into the trouble recovered their tempers, and returned to normal. Toward the end of the year it was learned that a Single Sister of Salem was secretly engaged to a widower from the southern part of Wachovia; and she too was dismissed. It should, however, be noted that while the young woman was dismissed from her Choir House and the Community she was not turned adrift, but was taken to the mill south of Salem, where a few days later she was married by Br. Bonn, Justice of the Peace, under the chaperonage of Br. and Sr. Steiner. Moravian Church discipline in the Eighteenth Century was strict, but the records prove that the leaders of the Congregation never acted hastily, that they sought by every means in their power to restore the erring one, and when they failed, and the limit of tolerance was reached, they acted with due regard to the best interests of every one, including the offender. Details concerning these troubles are given in the Diaries and Minute Books, but need take no further space here. In reviewing the Minute Books, however, certain other marriage negotiations will be translated, throwing light upon the methods of that day.

The Salem Diary for this year records little that is of general interest. Services were continued as usual, the Congregation, Choir, and Unity anniversaries were observed in the manner already presented in the translation of earlier years. More items apart from the Church routine are included after the death of Br. Tiersch, when Br. Graff became Diarist, showing the wider interest that Bishop Graff took in many subjects, including Colonial affairs. The inserted items are from Marshall's reports to U. E. C. The weather for the year was normal, except for the heavy frost in May.]

[When the Mission Collection box was being taken around on Jan. 6th a negress who is working in the Tavern heard of it, told two others, and all three asked that their little gifts might also be accepted. That evening she came into the Saal, dressed in white; and since then it appears that the Holy Spirit is working in her heart. One of the others was a negro who had been hired for a while, and soon after had

to return to his master, leaving with many tears. Since then another negro has been bought; he worked two or three winters in Bethabara, and has been here several times, begging earnestly that we would buy him, for he wanted to find salvation, and feared to be lost.]

Jan. 10. Friedrich Müller, from Yorktown, rejoiced us with a package of letters and Gemein Nachrichten.

Jan. 11. Br. Marshall read the news from these to the Communicants, who were greatly interested. We were particularly glad to hear of the baptism of the first Cherokee Indians, Noah, and his wife Wilhelmine; and we wish for our neighboring Indian nation that the light of the Gospel may soon shine upon it.

Feb. 27. The Brn. Marshall and Graff went to Friedland, where there was public preaching, and a Society meeting of the house-fathers. In this meeting Michael Seitz was elected Steward to assist Gröhn.

March 13. The Friedlanders have asked that a Brother come to them every other week, so today Br. Valentine Beck held the services and read to them from Nachrichten No. 6.

March 17. Herr Rebsdorf, Governor General of the Danish West India Islands, reached here, accompanied by a Captain Bang. They are journeying through the English Colonies.

[He was very friendly, and we did all in our power to make his stay here pleasant. He had fully counted on hiring from us horses and a guide as far as Maryland, which was very inconvenient, but we did our best for him, and sent a Brother and three horses to take him on until they could make further arrangements.]

March 21. The Governor took his departure, accompanied by Br. Heinrich Stöhr.

March 22. There was Congregation Council in the evening, and Br. Zillman accepted the office of Nightwatchman. He will receive £22: Proc. per year, toward which each Taxable will pay 1d a week.

[A short time ago Br. Bagge was in Cross Creek, where he bought several wagon-loads of goods. It has been agreed that the loss by the recent robbery shall be shared equally by the two parties, (i.e. by the Salem Store and the Cross Creek merchant). Since then a still greater robbery has taken place there, and a store-keeper was murdered, and the residents of Cross Creek have offered a reward of £500: for the discovery of the thief. Here in Salem there have been several attempts at stealing,—some one tried to pull out of the frame-work of the pottery the bricks which were walled in, but a movement in the house

frightened him away. It was therefore decided to have a night-watchman, who began his work on March 27th.

On March 21st, in bright sunshine, there was an earth-quake, which lasted about one minute, but did no harm.

At the last session, the Assembly and the Government agreed long enough to re-establish the County Courts, which are also to try civil cases where the amounts involved do not exceed £20.; but there is a Supreme Court for criminal cases only, not for civil cases.

The present residents of Salem are comfortably enough located, but not even one more family could be housed while building for itself, and the inhabitants are not in position to build more houses. Therefore a year ago already the Unity Diaconie decided to build a new store, as the house now occupied is not convenient for this purpose; and the cornerstone was laid on April 5th.]

April 12. Br. Stöhr returned from Louisburg, bringing a letter from Governor Rebsdorf, in which he expressed his satisfaction with the way he had been conducted thither.

[Andreas Schapiz, who came recently, has left of his own accord, and has gone to Salisbury, where he thinks he can do better for himself.

Matthias Weiss, of Bethlehem, has come in a wagon from Yorktown, and will establish a dyehouse.

On his last visit to the Atkin Br. Utley found that the Baptists have openly announced their opposition to his visits in that neighborhood.]

May 5. Last night it was unusually cold; fields, garden vegetables, and even the leaves on the trees, were frozen.

[On account of the long, mild, spring the fields and gardens were two weeks in advance of their usual condition at this time. On the night between the 4th and the 5th of May, and again on the following night, there was the hardest frost that any one remembers to have had at this season of the year. Wheat, rye, and grass were frozen, so that many people mowed their fields. We let ours stand, to see whether they would recover, for though the wheat was heading, the rye was in bloom, and the barley would have been ripe in two to four weeks, so that in ordinary cases no crop could have been expected, yet in this land vegetation makes such extraordinary growth that new sprouts came up, and the roots of the wheat, and such stalks as were not completely killed, revived. If we get half a crop, or even a quarter, we will be thankful. Most of the corn is sprouting again, and the season is still early enough for more to be planted, so this is the only sure hope for a grain harvest. Fruit of every kind is killed, so are the acorns and all other nuts in the forest. Leaves, young fruit trees, and

many limbs of other trees are frozen, and the forest looks worse than in winter, while the unpleasant odor of the frosted leaves persisted for several days, until the rain washed it away.

The potter from Pinetree made a burning of Queensware, and one of stoneware, so that process is now fairly understood here. As all the vessels had to be made by hand on the potter's bench, instead of with instruments on a potter's wheel, they were not delicate enough for porcelain, but they will serve as a side-line for our pottery, and can be further developed. The good man found our town too narrow for him, so for the present has bid us a friendly farewell.

The Governor has recently sent out a list of the Justices of the Peace, in which some of the former Justices were replaced by others. Br. Bonn remains Chairman, Michael Hauser, of Bethania, takes Charles Holder's place, so we have lost nothing.

Another family has come from Carol's Manor, and on the 14th of May settled on 168 acres, near the other Maryland families.]

[*Letter, Bishop Graff to Nathaniel Seidel, May 16th.* Through Matthias Weiss we have received the box of madder plants, for which I send hearty thanks; they were still fresh, and were set out at once according to instructions.]

May 27. The Höhns and Ebert families, who came yesterday, left today for Friedberg, and will lodge with Br. Pfaff until they can build on their land. Each of these couples has seven children.

June 1. In a meeting of Communicants Br. Graff preached; then the Marriage Doxology was sung, and Heinrich Stöhr and Anna Dorothea Schutz were married by Br. Tiersch, and Johannes Micke and Magdalena Hirt by Br. Utlej.

July 1. The Brn. Marshall and Tiersch visited the mill below Salem, where they heard that the flood last Wednesday ruined and washed away many mills to the south-west. Indeed, there was such a storm for several hours, with thunder and lightning and heavy rain, that people thought the Last Day had come.

July 5. After singing the Marriage Doxology Br. Johann Christian Fritz was married to the widowed Sister, Christine Merk [m.n. Loesch] in the name of our Lord and of His congregation, and the blessing of the Lord was laid upon them.

July 25. Last night a pocket-book, containing 10 sh., and some other things were stolen from a room in the Single Sister's part of the Gemein Haus.

July 28. It was agreed in Congregation Council that any one who does not work his allotted number of days on the roads shall pay 3 sh. per day in lieu thereof.

Aug. 29. In the afternoon at 2 o'clock was the Lovefeast of the Single Brethren, when the Festal Psalm of 1771 in Bethlehem was sung. Looking over the catalog of the Choir, Br. Tiersch announced that of the 42 Single Brethren living in Salem and Bethabara 19 were born in Germany, 1 in Switzerland, 4 in Denmark, 1 in Liefland, 3 in England, 17 in Pennsylvania, 1 in New England, 1 in Virginia, and 1 in Carolina.

[*Sept. 1.* Our grain-fields recovered from the frost beyond the expectation of anybody, through new shoots sent up, but the delay in the time of ripening brought it to the season for mildew, so the wheat was scant and poor. The rye was nearly all straw. The barley was scant and small, and will not grind well. Oats and flax are about as usual. There is no fruit, and only half a crop of hay, but prospects are good for the second hay crop. As most people will have to live on corn we have been obliged to add a second pair of stones at the Bethabara mill, especially for corn, and have built a bolter for cornmeal, an invention which has brought to the Salem mill many persons who wish to use the meal for bread.

This summer there have been several cloud-bursts in our neighborhood, which swept away houses and mills, but did us no serious damage.

Owing to the spring frost there is neither mast nor forage in the woods, so the larger and smaller wild creatures,—field mice, squirrels, raccoons, possums, bears,—and the feathered tribe, were driven into the fields, and did much damage, especially to the corn. Panthers have been seen several times,—they have not injured any persons, though they have followed some. It is no wonder that when the store secured two or three wagon-loads of fresh goods from Cross Creek, the entire amount of powder, 100 lbs, was sold in a few days.

Even as the fields team with thieving creatures so it goes among men, for there is robbery, murder, stealing of horses and swine, and the counterfeiting of both paper and hard money, so that there is no kind which has not been counterfeited. The present unrest permits the turbulent spirit to increase greatly, but, thank God, we have remained undisturbed, except for a few minor incidents.

At the last County Court the new Court-House was used for the first time.]

Sept. 21. The Aeltesten Conferenz prepared the Credentials for Br. Marshall, who has been called to attend the General Synod, as representative of the Unity in Wachovia.

Oct. 9. The two friends from Carols Manor Settlement in Maryland,—Padged and Schau,—who came last week, and have selected land in Wachovia in the neighborhood of their acquaintances, had an interview with Br. Marshall concerning the purchase of this land, and then left for home. They expect to move their families here next spring or fall.

Oct. 10. The Jury, appointed by the last County Court from Brethren of our three towns, today laid out a somewhat more direct road from our neighbor, Mr. Walker, to the Iron Furnace.

Oct. 13. Br. Bonn, as Justice, today performed the marriage ceremony for James, son of our neighbor John Doughted on Muddy Creek, and the daughter of Matthew Markland.

In Congregation Council the Credentials of Br. Marshall were read; and Br. Marshall announced that during his absence his duties would be performed by Br. Graff.

Oct. 14. At 6 o'clock there was Communion Lovefeast, in which we particularly thought of the approaching departure of Br. and Sr. Marshall¹ and Sr. Bishoff for Bethlehem.

Oct. 16. Last night our dear Br. Tiersch had a hard chill, with profuse sweating, and as it was the ninth night it seemed to be a crisis. [He suffered from a "hemorrhoidal diarrhoea" which has attacked many this year.] He expressed the hope that he would now improve, but it soon became evident that his departure was to be expected. Soon after mid-day the last blessing was given, and our dear Lord permitted His servant to rest from all his pain. This unexpected, and to us sorrowful, departure was at once announced by the trombones, with the accustomed melodies; and also in the meeting which soon followed.

Oct. 17. Toward evening the body of our dear Br. Tiersch was placed in the coffin. All day many had called, and soft music and sweet liturgies had been rendered from time to time.

Oct. 18. Morning and early afternoon a large number gathered from all our towns and from the neighborhood to attend the funeral of our Br. Paul Tiersch. At 2 o'clock Br. Graff made a short address in the Saal. The funeral procession reached almost from the Gemein Haus to God's Acre. After the casket had been lowered the usual prayers from the Church litany were read.

¹The death of Br. Tiersch delayed their departure some months.

[A number of persons, who had almost paid for their land, and who could not get Deeds in Br. Marshall's absence, made every effort to complete their payments, and have received their Deeds, so that Wachovia now has almost as many Freeholders as all the rest of the County put together. Since our last report Br. Traugott Bagge has had the Dürninger lot surveyed for himself, and three persons who have moved hither from Maryland have together taken 706 acres. We expect still others from that Colony, and the prospect is good for an English School-House in Wachovia. Other families across the Dorothea, or Muddy Creek, are considering the building of a School-House, but this will not be possible until a bridge is built.]

Oct. 19. The Brn. Marshall and Utley rode to the settlement of Carols Manor people, to see the place where a bridge is to be built across Muddy Creek, and also a fine place, this side of the Creek, where the neighbors and friends plan to build a School House.² It lies on a pretty hill, with a good spring near by.

Oct. 25. In accordance with a resolution recently passed by the Grosse Helfer Conferenz, in reference to the large quantity of counterfeit money now in circulation, both paper and hard money, an advertisement has been posted stating that if any one offers counterfeit money it shall be condemned by a Justice or other responsible man, and the word *counterfeit* shall be written on the bill, so it can no longer pass. This was carried into effect today by Br. Bagge, and the stranger who tendered the false money submitted without protest.

Today the upper spring, north-west of here, was inclosed in a large box, this was covered with clay, and then walled in. In this the water from both springs will be collected, and then led from there in pipes to the town.

[Oct. 26. We began to read Reichel's work on the Old Testament.³]

Oct. 27. The Aufseher Collegium has ordered that the Corpse House shall now be built at once,—the stone has been lying ready for a long time.

Oct. 28. During the night Br. Heckewälder returned from New Bern. He tried to sell in Cross Creek the load of butter which he took from the Store here, but the price was so low that he had to take it on to New Bern, where it was no better. There are prospects there for a good trade in leather breeches, if Br. Fritz could make them in quantity; those he sent paid well.

² Later called Hope.

³ *Die Bücher der heiligen Schrift Alten Testaments in eine harmonische Zeitordnung gebracht, etc.* By Carl Rudolph Reichel. Published at Frankfurt and Leipzig. Part I is dated 1773; Part XII, 1778.

Oct. 30. It was our Gemein Tag. The reading of the Memoir of our departed Br. Tiersch stirred tender, loving recollections concerning this faithful servant of the Lord.

Nov. 3. Br. Meinung was asked to keep the school for little boys, having received the vote of their fathers in the last Grosse Helfer Conferenz, and he accepted the position willingly.

Nov. 8. The Brn. Bonn, Bagge and Herbst went to Richmanstown to Court. Br. Reuter went to the Carols Manor settlement to lay out the ground for the new School-House, and the road from it to the new bridge across Muddy Creek.

Nov. 9. Philip Fogler [Vogler], of Friedland, returned from Court at Richmanstown where he had been to see about the claim made by James Hunter to certain head of cattle bought from Gov. Tryon during the Regulator time. Hunter did not wait for the decision of the Court, and his claim was not allowed, as he is still an outlaw. Before two Justices, who were party to his plans, he took an oath that he was formerly the owner of the cattle, and had them present his oath in writing; whether he has found and driven off the cattle while Fogler was at Court remains to be seen.

Nov. 10. The Brn. Bonn, Bagge and Herbst returned today from Court. Not a single word was said there about the present unrest in the land.

This evening Mr. Sam Berry, his step-son, and two other men, [David] Jones and Richardson, arrived from the neighborhood of Carols Manor [Md.] bringing a letter of recommendation from Br. Heppner to Br. Graff, which stated that the aforesaid gentlemen would like to buy land near those now living in Wachovia who were their neighbors in Maryland. Br. Marshall talked over the matter with them, and sent them to Dan Schmidt to see the land in that section. Mr. Berry seems to be a good man, and to act according to the dictates of his heart. [These men have been among the hearers of the departed Br. Powell.]

Nov. 12. Today and yesterday there were many people here; among others a Mr. Boyd from Wilmingtown, who has charge of the printing office there.

Nov. 13. Our Negro, Johann Samuel, whose baptism was the first sacramental act in the consecration of our Saal three years ago was today present as a candidate for the Communion.

Nov. 14. Philip Fogler, of Friedland, reported that the cattle he bought four years ago in Bethabara, and one more, had been driven

off after he let them through the fence. Probably James Hunter carried out the plan prepared for by his underhand oath.

Nov. 15. Br. Fockel, with his young companion Samuel Strub, left today for Charlestown, followed toward evening by three wagons loaded with deer skins and butter [from the Store].

The boy, Joseph Dixon, was bound to Br. Bonn by Br. Michael Hauser, of Bethania, Justice of the Peace.

Nov. 16. The widow Pettycoart, her three grown children, and a negro woman, arrived today from Maryland, and went to her acquaintance, Daniel Schmidt.

Nov. 17. Mr. Berry and Dan Schmidt came to see Br. Marshall; Berry has bought Schmidt's land, and wants an additional piece below it; Schmidt will take a piece half a mile nearer the Friedberg School-House.

Br. Heinzman and Samuel Stotz went to the neighborhood of New Garden Settlement to buy wheat.

Nov. 20. John Holder, who has been looking at land on the west line of Wachovia for his father, returns today to Pennsylvania, and will take with him the copy of our Diary for the four months July to October, and the Memoir of Br. Tiersch.

Nov. 28. Young Pettycoart, who is a hat-maker, came to our Tavern and will work over hats.

Dec. 1. Mr. Berry, his step-son, Jones and Richardson, came by on their return to Maryland, and finished arrangements for the purchase of their land. [They took more than a thousand acres, in several pieces.]

Dec. 5. Br. Triebel's house, on the corner between the Single Brothers House and Miksch, was successfully raised to the roof.

In the Grosse Helfer Conferenz a letter from Br. Friis was read. Among other things it contained the Resolutions of the Congress recently held in Philadelphia.

Dec. 8. Br. Fockel returned from Charlestown. He brought the pleasant news that Br. and Sr. Wallis, and the three Single Brethren, Schreyer, Tanz, and Kraus, landed on Nov. 26th, and will arrive here with the wagons next week. Coming with them from Europe were the Brethren Wagner and Müller, destined for service among the negroes of Georgia.

Dec. 10. In a newspaper we see the noteworthy news that peace has been made between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, much to the advantage of the former.

Dec. 12. The Brethren appointed as fire inspectors made the rounds of the town, examining all the fire-places, and noting anything that seemed dangerous.

[XXV Woche, 1775. *Extract from a letter from Br. Wallis.*

After waiting only three days in Charlestown we set out, with three wagons, on our further journey to Salem. At once we found ourselves in the forest, through which our way lay for fifty miles. The first night it rained so heavily that we all became rather wet. It was fortunate for us that the wagon had a cover. At noon we made a fire and cooked our food, and before evening we gathered wood enough to keep the fire burning all night. My wife and I slept in the wagon and the three Single Brethren slept by the fire. From two negroes we bought two turkeys, which weighed over twelve pounds; we roasted these on wooden spits, and ate of them for four days. Our teamsters also shot a deer. Until Dec. 6th the days were so warm that all clothing was too heavy; but on that day it turned so cold, and the north wind blew so sharply, that I do not remember ever having been so thoroughly chilled. The following night was just as cold, and as we were not far from Salisbury we decided to go into town on foot, not to inconvenience our teamsters, who preferred to remain in the woods. In Salisbury we warmed ourselves by the tavern fire. Next morning the teamsters came in, quite frozen, and there was ice on the horses. After they were somewhat warmed we set out again. After traveling six miles we came to the River Atkin, where a short time before two of our Brethren had been in danger of drowning, and the son of the teamster, and three of the horses, really did lose their lives. Our teamsters drove in, though not without fear, and passed through safely. We crossed on the ferry. This river is dangerous, because it has many hidden rocks. We were much worried over our further journey, as it was so cold to spend the night in the woods, but to our great joy a negro met us with a wagon sent from Salem. We were very thankful to our Brethren for this assistance, and made sixteen miles that afternoon to Friedberg, where we found a warm room for our refreshment. Next morning, Dec. 13th, we went on, and at the border of Wachovia were met by the Brn. Marshall and Petersen. We rejoiced like children, and had a Lovefeast with each other. As we drove into Salem the sound of trombones welcomed us, and all Brethren and Sisters received us very tenderly. We thanked the Saviour that He had so graciously protected us throughout our long and difficult journey, which had lasted from July 1st to Dec. 13th, as we had to wait for passage fourteen days in Altona and seven weeks in London.]

Dec. 17. The Aufseher Collegium met. Br. Wallis was present for the first time, and was introduced as Congregation Vorsteher.

Dec. 19. Mr. James Doughed, one of the Managers of the new bridge across Muddy Creek, came for the £12: promised toward the bridge from this Diaconie, as the bridge is almost completed.

Dec. 21. The Brn. Reuter and Miksch returned from surveying land for Henry Schlöter and the widow Peddycoard.

Tonight the watchman drove off a robber, who was hanging around the store. At his shout the man ran down the lane and between the gardens; the watchman shot at him, but heard nothing more from him.

Dec. 24. There were many strangers here today, among them a man and his wife from the Saluda, in north-west Georgia. From him we heard that all was still quiet in that section.

Dec. 27. A man from the Congaree brought a petition for a contribution for the building of a church in that section. We declined, explaining that the earlier settlers there were more able to contribute than we, who at our own cost had built a church here. He laughed and said that was true, but as he was to travel through here he had thought he might as well bring the petition with him.

Minutes of the Salem Boards, 1774.

[Extracts translated.]

Jan. 5. (Aelt. Conf.) With the consent of the officials, and with the consent of and in the presence of her parents, Kastner has been betrothed to Maria Spach. After it has been published by Br. Bachhof at Friedberg, and also at Bethabara, they will be married by Br. Bonn, Justice of the Peace.

Jan. 12. (Prov. Helf. Conf.) Br. Heinzmann reported that he had advised Br. Peter Yarrel to continue the dressing of deer skins under his supervision for another year.

Jan. 14. (Aelt. Conf.) Some time ago it was suggested to propose to Br. Koffler that he should marry Sr. Merk. This was again considered, and it was agreed that Sr. Graff should first speak with Sr. Merk, and if she declined the matter need not go to Br. Koffler, but when the lot was tried the negative was drawn: "We shall not propose the marriage of Br. Koffler to Sr. Merk."

Jan. 27. (Auf. Col.) It was agreed that Br. Aust should pay the Single Sisters 10d for each load of clay dug in their meadow.

Feb. 1. (Auf. Col.) It was agreed that it was now time to fell the timber for the new Store building.

(Prov. Helf. Conf.) Care shall be used that no man is allowed to make debts beyond his credit.

As there is now no mid-wife in Salem, and Sr. S—— will soon be confined, it was determined that Sr. Bonn shall make her first trial with this case, and if she is successful she shall be the appointed mid-wife, and in addition her husband shall teach her to do other minor surgical work among the Sisters,—to bind slight wounds, and the like.

Feb. 2. (Aelt. Conf.) Br. and Sr. Reuter wish to take little Elisabeth Hartmann, eleven years old. Her parents, the George Hartmanns, are willing, and as she will not be bound, and is only a child, and there is hope that she may be won for the Saviour, the matter will be referred to the Aufseher Collegium, and if they have no objection it can be done.

Feb. 17. (Auf. Col.) The rules concerning the woodlands shall be strictly enforced; Br. Reuter shall be given more support in his office, and no one shall cut trees in the woods without his consent.

Feb. 23. (Aelt. Conf.) Br. Marshall shall translate into English Br. Johannes [von Watteville's] sermon on preparation for the Holy Communion, and then it shall be read to the Ellroths.

On March 12th and on Easter Sunday there shall be preaching in English.

March 16. (Auf. Col.) Br. Bagge reports that he bought about 500 lbs. of sole leather in Cross Creek; including transportation it cost about 18d per lb. Br. Heinzmann takes some for the shoe-shop, and Br. Herbst takes the rest for customers at the tanyard.

(Aelt. Conf.) Heinrich Spoenhauer, Jr. has told Br. Petersen that his circumstances require him to marry. His parents think the same and would be glad to see him do it. He and they have thought of Michael Hauser's daughter, Elisabeth, but do not wish to do anything without hearing from the Conferenz, as they do not wish to undertake it without the blessing of the Saviour and of the Brethren. The Aeltes-ten Conferenz sees no objection, and heartily wishes them the grace and blessing of the Saviour. On their next visit to Bethania Br. and Sr. Graff will speak with Br. and Sr. Spoenhauer about it, and if they both wish it Br. and Sr. Graff will take the proposal of marriage to the Michael Hausers, and if they approve they shall lay the matter before their daughter. If she accepts she and Heinrich Spoenhauer shall be betrothed by Br. and Sr. Ernst in the presence of their parents; and then Br. Ernst shall commend them to the Communicant members for their thoughts and prayers. [All this was done on March 27th.]

March 24. (Auf. Col.) The expense of the Nightwatchman has been discussed in Congregation Council, and some changes made. Br. Zillman wishes £22: per year, out of which he will pay all expenses except the great-coat for which he has asked. Contributions shall be,—

from 13 Married Brethren, @ 4d per four weeks, and	
40 Single Brethren @ 4d per four weeks,—for the year	11: 9: 8
from George Schmidt for his business [blacksmith] 10d	
per four weeks	10:10
from Jacob Bonn for his business [apothecary] 10d per	
four weeks	10:10
pottery, 1sh. per four weeks	13:—
tavern, 2 sh. per four weeks	1: 6:—
tan-yard, 1sh, 9d per four weeks	1: 2: 9
store, 7sh. per four weeks	4:11:—
Single Brothers Diaconie, 5sh. per four weeks.....	3: 5:—
Congregation Diaconie, 2sh. per four weeks.....	1: 6:—

£24:15: 1

March 28. (Aelt. Conf.) When the children of outside persons are baptised we cannot refuse to let their friends and neighbors act as sponsors, if they are decent people. But in the Congregation no one can be accepted as a sponsor who at the time is in bad standing, and shut out from the Communion.

April 6. It shall be recommended to Peter Rose that he marry Rosina Böckel.

April 7. Peter Rose has not accepted the proposal concerning Rosina Böckel, but suggests Sr. Christine Merk. The Aeltesten Conferenz considers it necessary to send on the proposal to her, through Sr. Graff.

On the 8th Sr. Merk positively declined, as she is not fitted for the work on a plantation.

Br. Peter Rose thereupon accepted the first suggestion, and Sr. Rosina Böckel accepted it also; and on April 10th they were betrothed by Br. and Sr. Graff.

April 13. Heinrich Stöhr having returned from his journey Br. Graff will speak with him, and tell him that nothing can be done about his marriage until he has paid his debts in his Choir House, for we will not permit any Sister to be so unfortunate as to give herself into poverty through his debts.

April 21. (Auf. Col.) The Single Brethren present a plan for a wagon shed and a room for the teamsters; it has the approbation of the Collegium.

April 29. As the dyer, Matthias Weiss, has arrived from Bethlehem it was considered how that business might be begun. We have no dye-stuffs, but will see whether any can be secured in Salzburg [Salisbury].

May 5. There are no dye-stuffs in Salzburg, and it will take time to get them from Pennsylvania; meanwhile Br. Weiss can earn his bread by helping with the weaving.

May 12. On account of the freezing of the winter grains there is little prospect for selling sickles.

May 17. (Aelt. Conf.) Concerning Heinrich Stöhr's marriage it was remarked that debts no longer stand in the way, so it will be taken up with him and Anna Dorothea Schutz.

May 24. Heinrich Stöhr and A. Dor. Schutz both accepted the proposal, and on May 21st they were betrothed by Br. and Sr. Graff, and it was announced to the Congregation in Salem. It will be announced in Bethabara and Bethania next Sunday.

Bethabara, Bethania, and Friedberg shall now keep their own Church Books, that is the Registers of those Baptised or Buried.

June 9. Fockels will send their daughter, Hannel, to Salem. She will live with Br. and Sr. Miksch, and attend the day school taught by Sr. Oesterlein.

(Auf. Col.) The plan of Br. Triebel's house, which will contain a room for the Night-watchman, was presented and approved. Br. Triebel is building the house at his own expense, and the Congregation Diaconie will pay a small annual rent for the Watchman's room.

July 6. (Aelt. Conf.) John Hein has positively declared to the Aufseher Collegium that it is the true wish of his heart to be the property of the Saviour and to live among and to approve himself to His people, therefore it was asked concerning him with two lots, and the affirmative was drawn: "We are to receive John Hein as a resident of the town and into the Choir House of the Single Brethren." This answer was made known to him by the Aufseher Collegium, and reported to Congregation Council in the evening.

July 13. For Elisabeth Bagge, Meyer, and H. Fockel 1 sh. [per week] shall be paid to Sr. Oesterlein, teacher of the Girls' School; for Schmid and Miksch, 6d; for Cathy and Elisabeth Hartmann, 4d.

Br. Reuter will begin a class in ["geometrical"] drawing for several of the younger Brethren.

July 14. (Auf. Col.) As it seems probable that the crop of wheat this year will not be large, it is likely that we will have to pay 5sh. for

it per bushel. It was positively ordered that none should be sold to outsiders from our mills.

Br. Petersen reports that in connection with the buying of cattle it happens that if one will not buy at the price asked the owner will say that he will then kill the cattle and sell the meat in town. This may mean that the meat from sick cattle is sold in town,—at least it should be discussed in the Grosse Helfer Conferenz.

It was mentioned that there are one or two painters [panthers] in the neighborhood. It would be well to hunt them; the law promises 10sh. bounty, the man who sells the skin receives 5sh., and there is a premium from Salem, Bethabara and Bethania of 10sh, total £1: 5:—.

July 19. (Aelt. Conf.) Christoph Ellroth plans, in company with his neighbors and the Carols Manor people, to build a School-House in Blanket Bottom,¹ where their children can be taught, and services can be held.

Among the English in Briand's Settlement, near Ellroth's across Muddy Creek, near the Carols Manor settlement, that is in three separate places, there are prospects for the building of School-Houses.

July 28. (Auf. Col.) It is calculated that 1000 ordinary brick cost 30 sh.; the large ones 40sh. per 1000.

Aug. 2. (Prov. Helf. Conf.) In the Salem and Bethabara Stores the butter that is bought shall be washed, so that it does not spoil, for as the trade in skins falls off butter becomes one of the chief products of the land.

Sept. 20. (Aelt. Conf.) Br. Marshall read the farewell letter he has written to Gov. Josia Martin, in which he recommends Br. Graff, who will fill his place until his return.

Br. Bagge will build a house for himself on the corner opposite the Store.

The Catalogs of all our towns shall be revised from time to time.

Sept. 29. (Auf. Col.) The Single Brethren will take charge of the butchering, with the approval of Br. Meyer [for the Tavern] and the Brethren and Sisters [in the town].

Oct. 11. As there is much illicit buying and selling being done by negroes, to the disturbance of the Congregation, it was announced in Congregation Council that no one should buy from such a person unless he could show a permit from his master. In general there should be less conversation with the negroes, as that naturally has no good result.

The Leases for the three Brethren, Bagge, Schmidt and Triebel, have been completed.

¹ The Blanket Bottom Tract was near the present site of Clemmons, N. C.

Oct. 24. (Prov. Helf. Conf.) Considering how the offices of the departed Br. Tiersch should be filled temporarily, it was decided, a) Br. Heinzmann shall take the Minutes of the Grosse Helfer Conferenz and the Aeltesten Conferenz; the Brethren in the Gemein Haus shall copy them in the Minute Books.

b) The holding of services for the Congregation shall be divided among the Brethren, Br. Utley taking part of them; Br. Praezel will help with the children's hours and the Liturgies.

c) The matter of a school-teacher shall be considered further in the Aeltesten Conferenz.

d) Br. Graff will take charge of the Congregation music.

e) The book matters, which Br. Tiersch has had in hand, and the account of book sales, shall be cared for by the Congregation Vorsteher.

A lodging must be found for Sr. Tiersch, as it will be necessary for Br. Graff to move into Br. Tiersch's rooms, both on account of the Congregation Archives, and because of the services he will hold for the Congregation.

Nov. 14. Last week Br. Reuter surveyed a piece of land in the Maryland Settlement, beginning at Markland's corner, which is a good place for the School-House which is to be built in that neighborhood. It contains 36 acres, and will be given by the Unity for that purpose.

When Sr. Tiersch moves into the room at Meinung's house, and Br. and Sr. Graff into her former quarters, Br. Utley shall take an inventory of the furniture in the rooms vacated by the Graffs and shall present it to the Aufseher Collegium so that it may be seen what more will be needed for Br. and Sr. Wallis;—their house will need some repairs also.

Nov. 16. (Auf. Col.) Br. Meyer has attended the sessions of this Board as Curator of the Single Sisters, and as he no longer holds that office he will no longer be a member.

Br. Utley will see to it that the Graveyard for Strangers is laid out.

Nov. 23. It was agreed that there ought to be classes for the boys in the Brothers House, in which English, writing and arithmetic should be taught. Br. Heckewälder will hold the school twice a week.

Dec. 17. As Br. Brössing will soon leave for Georgia there was consideration of how to fill his place as master joiner.

Dec. 20. (Aelt. Conf.) A letter was read from Friedrich Daniel Müller, who recently came from Maryland. He asks that he, his wife and children, may come into close fellowship with the Brethren here; they were formerly communicants in Yorktown. As they have brought no written testimony from their last place of residence Br. Graff will write to Br. Mattheus about them.

[Editorial.]

[The Diaries and Minutes of 1774 contain many references to the trades and professions in Salem. It would overload the translation to insert all such incidental references, but a summary may be given to afford a general view of the activities of the community. It is quite probable that there were some which did not happen to require comment during this particular twelve-month, but those which do appear show a rather remarkable variety, considering that the town of Salem was only eight years old.

In Church affairs the following positions were filled by men,—Bishop, Presbyters, members of the Aufseher Collegium. Both men and women were Deacons, Akoluthie, Pfleger, Vorsteher, Saal Diener, members of the Provincial Helfer Conferenz, Grosse Helfer Conferenz, Aeltesten Conferenz, and Congregation Council.

The daily life of the women included the usual duties of housekeeping, cooking, sewing, spinning, knitting, gardening, also teaching, nursing, and midwifery.

Businesses conducted for the benefit of the community were,—store, tavern, pottery, tanyard, brickyard, two farms, and mill; and a small stock of religious books was kept on hand, and sold practically at cost. In connection with the Single Brothers House there was a farm, brewery, bakery, and butchery; and certain of the trades later carried on by individuals were financed for a time by the House funds.

Among the men, married and single, living in the Brothers House or outside, were the Church officers mentioned above, and the men who worked in the community and Brothers House businesses; there were also professional men,—doctor, apothecary, surveyor, forester, roadmaster; and in addition many handicraftsmen,—masons, carpenters, sawyers, cabinet-maker, wagon-maker, weaver, dyer, tailor, blacksmith, gunsmith, locksmith, sicklesmith, nailsmith, saddler, dresser of deer-skins, maker of leather breeches, shoemaker, nurse, school-teacher, book-keeper, tobacco manufacturer, seedsman, night-watchman. When two or more men had the same trade one was recognized as the master-workman, and the others as his journeymen; many of the master-workmen also had apprentices. There were only a few slaves in the town, and they were either house-servants or employed for heavy work,—they were not taught trades.

There were a number of musicians among the men and women, though the former were more in evidence as organists, and performers on trombones, French horns, violins, etc. All shared in the congrega-

tional singing, and those with good voices sang solo or in the choir, and several of the ministers could play the organ or lead a liturgical service or singstunde with equal ease. There were also those who had the gift of rhyme, and if they were not great poets they could and did write many a birthday greeting, or hymn for some special occasion. They had a large collection of hymns and tunes brought over from the old country, but they supplemented this at will, giving their verses the distinctly local, personal, touch.

While most of the trades and professions had moved to Salem, Bethabara still had a tavern, store, distillery, and farm, with a shoe-maker and a few other craftsmen. The Bethania Diary gives little clew to the activities there, as Br. Ernst records chiefly the church services, but this village and the other centers were largely agricultural, though a basket-maker is mentioned at Friedberg.

In turning to the Diaries of these other places it should be stated that all references to marriages before a Justice of the Peace are translated, as in most cases it is the only record thereof that exists, as the files of Marriage Bonds in the present-day Court-Houses are only partially complete, and no Bonds were required when the Banns were published.]

Bethabara Diary, 1774.

[Extracts translated.]

Jan. 13. Br. Lorenz¹ visited Steinman in the morning, and in the afternoon went to George Holder's. Holder has built a house, which will later serve as a stable, but for the present shelters the workmen who are cutting logs for his dwelling house. He has to pay the workmen half a crown a day, and board them.

Jan. 24. I went to Schaub's farm to baptise Johnannes Schneider's child, as he had requested. His neighbors were nearly all there,—Joseph Holder, Andreas Volz, Christel Conrad, Schulz, Sr. and their wives, and Johannes Krause's wife.

Jan. 25. After the English Liturgy, Anton Kastner and Maria Spach were married by Br. Bonn. Anton Kastner had invited some of the Brethren and Sisters to attend the ceremony, which took place in Br. Kühnast's room, and I must say that I enjoyed the affair; after the wedding each of those present was served with cake and a glass of wine, and hearty congratulations were extended to the pair.

Feb. 4. Michael Frey came to ask for the baptism of his child. I inquired about preachings in his neighborhood; he said that they

¹ The Bagge brothers were distinguished by calling the Merchant "Br. Bagge," while the Minister was always "Br. Lorenz." As pastor and diarist of Bethabara Br. Lorenz gives interesting details, though his spelling leaves something to be desired!

all went to the Baptist preachings, said further that the people had liked Br. Soelle, but did not care for Br. Utley, especially Mr. McNally; that it was a settlement nearly all English, and it would be better to send an English Brother to preach for them, he thought.

Feb. 7. Br. Heckewälder passed through on his way to the Hollow and Virginia.

Feb. 14. Br. Schaub reported to the Brn. Kühnast, Fockel and Blum that late last evening a man, quite bloody, came to the Tavern. This man's wife, and two other men, arrived about daybreak, said they had left this man and his companion some miles beyond Walker's; all three men were held until we could learn something more of the matter. Schneider was sent to Mr. Walker, to report to him and ask that he take charge of the situation; it appears that the man who came to us had badly abused his companion, who reached Mr. Walker's very late half dead; Mr. Walker at once sent a constable for the man here, and the others went with him. This is apparently the company that has been circulating counterfeit money all through this section; the two drank too much and got into a quarrel, and it looks as though they had used swords; the man who came to us had no weapon, but he may have hidden things in the woods, or lost them.

Feb. 16. The man arrested here by the constable returned today from Mr. Walker's. They had arranged the matter, and the man had a pass, and said he was going to South Carolina.

Feb. 21. Today at three o'clock there was an earthquake. The bells hanging in the store all rang at the same time; I was in the yard and thought a large herd of cattle was coming. It was felt in all the houses, but not severely enough for all to notice it.

Feb. 23. The weather was fine today. Br. Stach held the service for the children. In the twilight Br. Fockel read from the words of the Saviour. Br. Stach held a beautiful Singstunde. Yesterday I had a Spanish Fly plaster put on, and today my neck was rather stiff.

March 4. Br. Stach was 64 years old, and the school children sang several verses for his birthday. In the afternoon Br. Bonn came, and opened a boil behind my ear.

March 6. Joseph Müller and his wife visited us. He said it was reported that there were Cherokee Indians in the Hollow; that the older Indians did not want war, but the younger ones did, so the older ones were seeking the protection of the white people. Time will show what truth there is in this.

March 16. George Holder and his family moved today from Salem to their land on the Grassy Fork.

March 18. Br. Schaub has engaged the constable, Bohannen, to work for some months at the Tavern.

March 19. Colonel Armstrong passed on his return from the Assembly. He told Br. Fockel that there was little prospect for the enforcement of law, for the representatives from the lower Counties were not in agreement with each other.

March 28. A horse was stolen last night from Volk's stable, and a poor one left in its place.

April 14. There was a heavy storm, with rain and hail. For many years no one has seen so much water fall in so short a time.

[In the middle of April work was begun on a new Tavern; it is modeled after that of Salem, except that it has only one story.]

April 17. Sunday. At noon the alarm was given that there was fire near the fence of the new field. All ran to save the fence, but the wind was so strong that it could not be done, and it will take about 1000 rails to rebuild it. It is probable that some one set it on fire, for when some of the Brethren were out before the service no one saw it.

April 19. Robert Denke, who has worked here for some months, left early this morning.

April 20. The elderly Br. and Sr. Schaub moved today to their land some two miles away in the woods.

Sheep-shearing began today.

April 22. Mr. Linier passed today on his return from the Assembly. He had the Acts; also the Commissions for those appointed as Captains and Lieutenants.

April 28. The Brn. Bagge and Bonn from Salem, and the Brn. Blum, Fockel and Kapp from here, went to the election of Assembly Men for Surry County. Our Brethren could not wait to learn the result, but we hear that Mr. Linier and James Klen² were elected.

May 5. Last night there was so heavy a frost that all the fruit was killed; in the gardens the beans and cucumbers were killed; so were also the cotton, potatoes, flax, and corn, which will have to be replanted. How much the rye has suffered time will show.

May 7. Br. Jacob Steiner was here and brought the distressing news that on the South Fork, the Huwarry, and in all that section, all winter grain is frozen. We knew that was the case here, but have hoped that if our loving Father would send us a good rain some of it might sprout again. But without question much damage has been done, and the loss will be heavy.

² Glen.

May 9. Today there was a fairly hard storm, with rain which was good for the fields and garden. At least we hope that the grass which was frozen will now grow again, and we are hoping that the winter grains, rye, wheat and oats, will revive.

May 10. Br. Blum went to Court; Br. Stauber also went, in order to collect some debts, and took along some ginger cakes for sale. Br. Kapp went to Court on business connected with the Will of the elder Schor. We hear that Br. Bonn has again been made Justice.

May 16. Br. Schaub had a letter from Br. Spach saying that the mason need not come, as he—Spach—was not yet ready to build.

May 29. The Committee met and discussed various matters, among the rest that a Brother had attended the last Muster in order to speak with certain persons about work; this attracted so much attention that in the future it will be better for the Brethren to keep out of the way on such occasions.

June 1. A man came from Pittsburg with the news that the Indians had killed several traders, whereupon the whites had killed forty Indians. The man who brought the news lives near Salisbury; it took him fourteen days to come from Pittsburg, and this happened fourteen days before he left.

June 2. Today travelers passed, coming from New River and Clinch River. From the first place we hear that the freeze was heavy; from the latter that the Indians will not tolerate the presence of the whites, that there has been killing on both sides.

July 5. When we waked all the bottom was under water, which was higher than we have ever seen it,—the Brethren say higher than in the Regulator freshet. The mill sent for help, * * * young Schaub, Hein and Kremser insisted on going in a shabby canoe, and when they reached the strong current flowing to the mill-dam the canoe began to leak, and sank. Hein could swim, but Kremser held on to him, and he thought they would both drown. However he succeeded in reaching land, and all three were rescued,—we hope this will be a warning to them.

July 17. The Committees from our three towns met on road business. The Court has appointed Br. Reuter as Roadmaster for our Parish; Br. Blum will be his deputy in Bethabara District, and Br. Beroth in Bethania District.

July 21. Travelers from Pennsylvania report that on the south Potomac the Indians and whites are at war, and the latter are bringing in scalps.

July 26. George Holder has been seeking his horse for nearly three weeks and has not found it; and last night his mare also disappeared, and cannot be found. He thinks they were stolen.

Aug. 1. Bohannen, ["the Constable from England,"] who has been hostler in the Tavern, ran a splinter into his foot fourteen days ago. Br. Bonn took it out, but he has had a wound-fever. * * *

Aug. 6. At five o'clock the body of James Bohannen was buried on our Parish graveyard. Br. Fritz conducted the service in English.

Aug. 8. Many people were here, some on their way to Court, some to sell deer-skins, some wishing to buy powder.

Aug. 9. Many more came for powder, and as long as it lasted each got a little. The poor people need it badly to protect their corn against such vermin as raccoons and squirrels, or it will be ruined.

Sept. 18. Br. Fritz preached today at Mr. Benner's.

Sept. 27. There were many strangers here today, who knew much concerning the trouble between the whites and Indians on New River and Green Briar.

Oct. 7. A package of Gemein Nachrichten was brought by a man who lives in the Great Swamp, not far from Bethlehem; his name is David Züber.

A wagon loaded with butter left for the market at Newbern. The store here has bought about 3000 lbs. of butter.

Oct. 20. During this month and last more than 1000 head of cattle have been driven by here on the way to Pennsylvania.

Nov. 6. Br. Schaub has taken Hoffmann's son, from Bielus Creek,³ as hostler in the Tavern.

Nov. 8. The Brn. Bagge and Bonn came today, and will go on to Court tomorrow.

Nov. 17. In the Singstunde it was remarked that today 21 years ago the Brethren arrived in Wachovia; we have much reason to thank our dear Lord for all the goodness which He has shown to His people here.

Nov. 21. This morning it rained, and froze to glaze ice. All the chimneys were burned out today.

Nov. 23. Two Indian men and a woman arrived today, accompanied by several white men. They are going to Col. Henderson, who, they say, has bought land from the Cherokees, some 300 miles square. The Indian chief, or king, as they call him, is on his way [to Williamsburg, in Virginia,] to receive the payment for the Cherokee nation; this nation is not at war, but is quiet and peaceful. The Indians and

³ Doubtless Belevs Creek.

gentlemen were quiet and attentive in the evening meeting. The Indians wondered much at the organ, thinking it must be alive if it could make a sound like that; [the organ case had to be opened for them, for they had heard children were inside, who sang.]

Nov. 24. The gentlemen and Indians went on their way to Guilford County, where Col. Henderson lives. They say they are to receive £4000: in goods,—it can hardly be believed.

Dec. 5. An advertisement was posted on the mill, offering 2 sh. cash per bushel for corn.

Bethania Diary, 1774.

[Extracts translated.]

Jan. 25. We hear that Joseph Müller and Sara Hauser were married by Mr. Gurry,⁴ in Jacob Müller's house.

April 3. At sunrise our Easter Litany was held on God's Acre.
* * * As no organist was present Joseph Müller was permitted to play the organ for the visitors, several Brethren having requested it.

April 12. We hear from Sara Müller that the Banns for Friedrich Müller and Sarah Toll have been published in the school-house near there.

May 10. Br. Bonn returned from Court and brought word that Br. Hauser has been made a Justice of the Peace.

May 22. Wilhelm Grabs played the organ for the first time.

June 23. Many people were here on business with Br. Michael Hauser, Justice of the Peace.

June 28. A rather large company of men rode by, with flag and trumpet, on their way to Muster. Their Captain was Heinrich Schmidt.

Oct. 20. Br. Michael Hauser, my wife and I⁵ visited Valentine Frey's wife, who is quite ill. Br. Hauser bled her. From there we went to Michael Frey's; also to Heinrich Frey's, who rejoiced in our visit, and at their request Br. Hauser bled them.

Nov. 14. Br. Grabs and I went to the farm of the younger Valentine Frey, where I held the funeral of his wife, who died on the 12th.

Friedberg Diary, 1774.

Jan. 1. Having opened the new year with singing

Now thank we all our God,

we went to our homes, and would have liked to rest, but a crowd of the young men and older boys from this section went from farm to

⁴Curry, a Justice of the Peace.

⁵Rev. Jacob Ernst, pastor of Bethania.

farm "shooting in" the year. They did not come to the School-House, but we⁶ heard the shooting until sunrise, and one might have thought the whole neighborhood was full of Indians. All who came to the noon meeting had much to say about what a noisy night it was, and how they had been disturbed.

Anton Kastner came to us, bringing a letter from Br. Lorenz Bagge, and we sent for Br. and Sr. Spach. When they arrived Anton laid his business before them, namely that he desired to marry their daughter, Marie, and wished to ask if they would give her to him. They went home to consider his request, and promised that in the morning they would give him their and their daughter's decision.

Jan. 2. Br. and Sr. Spach and their daughter Marie came to us, and having spoken with the parents and with the daughter apart and received their consent the widower, Anton Kastner, and Adam Spach's eldest daughter, Marie, were betrothed, in the presence of her parents, my wife and myself, several hymns being sung.

Jan. 23. The betrothal of Anton Kastner and Marie Spach was announced today for the third and last time; and the betrothal of the single man, Heinrich Frey, Valentine Frey's son, to the single woman, Sara Klein, daughter of Peter Klein, was announced for the first time.

Jan. 24. Anton Kastner came for a certificate of the three public announcements of his betrothal, that he might take it to Br. Bonn, Justice of the Peace.

March 2. Daniel Schmidt, Heinrich Schlöter, and John Goslin, cut wood for the School-house.

March 6. Shortly before the Sunday services we received the unexpected tidings that young Ezekial Goslin had died, after a six-day illness with pleurisy.

March 20. The Stewards have made out their account for six months. It amounts to £6: 7: 9.

April 17. Christian Frey was elected Steward in place of Johann Nicholas Böckel.

May 1. Only preaching was held today, not many being present. Some had gone to the English service at Salem; others out of curiosity were at the Dunkard meeting; still others had gone to buy the wares which Jacob and John Rothrock recently brought from Yorktown.

May 3. Several from here went to Court at Salisbury, in the matter concerning Adam Hartmann's hogs.

May 5. We hear from every one lamentations because of the killing of the fruit, grain, and garden vegetables; even the trees, which were

⁶ Rev. and Mrs. Ludolf Bachhof.

covered with beautiful leaves, look black and dead. The prospect is distressing, and the future looks gloomy, as everything will be dear.

May 6. Sunday. We included in the litany the petition

“From short crops and high prices,” etc.

May 9. The dear Saviour gave us a good rain, by which many of the garden vegetables, and the young corn, were revived.

May 10. “The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want” for strength or food,—with this we comforted ourselves and our people, who are in great need, and very anxious. The flour and corn are all used; no one can tell how the rye and wheat will turn out; they have no money; and without money no one will sell them anything.

May 16. Spach today began work on his new house.

May 20. Philip Rothrock says that if he cannot buy wheat here he and his brother will go to Pennsylvania for a load; but a certain gentleman says that he knows where there are 400 bushels, whose owners are in debt to him, and he will take it on the debt and sell it to the people here.

June 22. Br. Ebert’s sons, Martin and Johann Georg, came to let us see how well they can play the violin. Some other Brethren came in, and we had a happy singstunde and evening prayer. As they were leaving I told them they might play for the public services on Sundays, and for the Society meetings, and they felt glad and important.

July 10. Valentine Frey told me that his daughter, Margareth, has secretly married a man named Rudolf Nied, who stayed for a while at their house.

July 15. George Hartmann and Adam Spach have finished cutting wheat, and think they have made half a crop.

August 19. George Frey reports that he has bought 200 lbs. of flour from his brother Valentine, paying 20 sh. per hundred pounds.

August 25. Talked with Adam Spach about an advertisement, which has been left with him to be translated into German and posted. We advised him, in times like these, to take part in nothing without direct orders from the Governor.

Oct. 3. School began again.

Oct. 7. Conrad Schau, who has recently come from Maryland, told us that he has bought from Br. Marshall 200 acres of land in the three forks.



FRONT AND REAR VIEWS OF THE ADAM SPACH "ROCK HOUSE," BUILT 1774
The pictures were taken in 1897

Oct. 31. The masons have finished their work on Spach's new house.⁷

Nov. 6. Matthew Weesner was elected Steward by the Society, in place of Martin Walk.

Nov. 13. Jacob Beroth asked me to publish his engagement to Maria Schneider; after preaching this was done for the first time.

Nov. 20. A new-comer from Pennsylvania, Friedrich Müller, was present in the service. He and his wife formerly lived in Yorktown, and were communicants there; poverty led them to move away, but I do not know whither.

Dec. 1. I visited Friedrich Müller. He says that five years ago he moved from Yorktown to his friends near Manokasy [Md.] but as they lived eleven miles from the School-House he could not send his children to school, nor often attend the services.

Dec. 11. Adam Spach was asked to take charge of God's Acre, and to dig the graves; he was promised 5 sh. for each grave dug, regardless of size.

⁷The "rock house" is still standing, a mile from Friedberg Church, though almost in ruins. It was built on the slope of a hill, over a spring, with an outside entrance to the basement so that the cattle could be driven in for safekeeping in case of Indian attack. The house is 20 by 36 feet, the walls being of uncut stone, laid up without mortar. There are several loop-holes. The windows formerly had heavy wooden shutters. Above the basement the house had one story and a small attic, the main floor opening directly on top of the hill. In 1921 the Wachovia Historical Society bought the house and a driveway around it, considering it an interesting Colonial relic.

[When the fateful year 1775 arrived the world was nominally at peace. The only change among European rulers was that Louis XVI had ascended the throne of France. England was much perplexed over the problem of her American Colonies, which had so strongly opposed her Stamp Act and the import duty on various commodities that she had removed all except the tax on tea, and that was being bitterly resented because the Colonists considered it the visible sign of England's determination to tax them as she chose, though she allowed them no representation in her Councils. News of the "Boston Tea Party," which took place Dec. 6, 1773, reached England during 1774, and was answered by an Act of Parliament annulling the Charter of Massachusetts, by another closing the port of Boston, and by orders to Gen. Gage to take four regiments to Boston, supercede Gov. Hutchinson, and place Massachusetts under military rule. This aroused the other Colonists, and the first Continental Congress, which was held in Philadelphia in September, 1774, adopted a Declaration of Rights, and appealed to the English People to support the reasonable wish of the Americans to be "as free as yourselves." In Massachusetts, Gen. Gage made no progress in bringing the Province under military rule, and the situation became more and more tense.

The match was set to the fuse, April 19, 1775, by the skirmish at Lexington, Mass. which had an effect all out of proportion to its size. The news spread rapidly, and everywhere it aroused public indignation. Committees of Safety were organized, militia drilled, and on May 10th the second Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia. Its acts were a mixture of preparation for hostilities and endeavors to avoid strife, but George Washington was appointed chief of the "Continental Army," which as yet consisted only of scattered militia forces.

The Moravian records give many interesting side-lights on the happenings of those days, which they watched from a mental position very different from that of their neighbors. They remembered that they were members of a world-wide Unity, and that if they formally renounced allegiance to Great Britain it could be used to the detriment of their Brethren living in England and in the British West Indies; moreover changes in the field of service were quite usual among them, and they hesitated to erect a barrier between American and English congregations. Few of them were of English birth, yet they could claim privileges accorded to no English born "Dissenters," but granted to the Brethren by Act of Parliament, and for this they were grateful,

and for this they felt under obligations to the English Crown. On the other hand the large majority of them had settled permanently in Wachovia, as American citizens; they distinctly purposed being friendly with and of service to the settlers around them; and their Rules and Regulations enjoined obedience to "those in authority," and to laws enacted by duly elected representatives of the people. Being peaceful and law-abiding they had no sympathy with the Regulator movement, and while the Provincial leaders of 1775, in Surry County, were of a different type, the Brethren were naturally slow to commit themselves to revolution. Moreover they had honest "conscientious scruples" against bearing arms; thirty-five years earlier the Brethren in Georgia had sacrificed the results of five years of arduous toil rather than act contrary to what they believed to be right, and now in Pennsylvania and in North Carolina the thorough-going Moravians were prepared to endure anything rather than take up arms. People speak of such "conscientious scruples" with half a smile, as though they were the excuse of cowards afraid to fight, but the most casual reading of the Moravian records gives proof positive that the easy thing would have been to fully join the Provincials, allow all their young men to enlist, and send their leaders to share in the counsels of the leaders of the State,—it took brave men, men of courage and conviction, to stand their ground, suspected by first one party and then the other, and obliged over and over to prove their innocence of trumped-up charges. Their comparatively comfortable homes and business success made them the target for the jealousy of the lawless and unsuccessful, and their conscientious refusal to bear arms, or to serve on Committees directly concerned with military service, was not understood by those of differing religious views or no religion at all. Fortunately men like Col. Martin Armstrong and Col. (later Gov.) Alexander Martin, recognized their honesty of purpose and their value to the commonwealth, and stood between them and those who sought their destruction; and they answered demands on their stores and shops with supplies in quantities that are amazing when one remembers that in 1775 there were only 77 adults in the entire town of Salem. As these supplies were paid for in constantly depreciating currency every sale was a loss, but this they bore as their part of the burden of their country.

Contemporary records are of inestimable value in the study of any period, and to read Bishop Graff's Diary, for instance, is like reading the daily paper, so alive is it with rumors, true and false, with brief accounts of happenings which interested him enough to win a place in the Diary, and hints of other events which he did not think it wise to record. Letters from Bethlehem brought news from Pennsylvania, and

other northern provinces, and the occasional newspaper was eagerly scanned for information regarding public affairs. North Carolina news came largely by word of mouth from Salisbury, Hillsboro, Cross Creek, New Bern, Wilmington, all familiar to the Brethren through years of Court attendance, negotiations with the Assembly, and the promotion of trade. The stores at Salem and Bethabara maintained a stock of goods long after other less well managed stores had completely sold out, and Salem was supplied with skilled workers in many lines, and this not only brought many private individuals to the Moravian communities, but led to the closest relations with the leaders of the Revolution, for from 1775 on merchant Bagge was virtually one of the purchasing agents for the Continental forces of this section of North Carolina, not only superintending the purchase and sale of store supplies but also ordering meat and grain from adjoining farms.

Politically the year 1775 was a year of utmost confusion, when the minds of the most able statesmen swung now to this opinion and now to that, in the effort to avert war and to maintain the just rights of American citizens; and the less far-seeing mass, excited by contradictory rumors, was on the verge of civil war as well as national. In any time of general uncertainty some one will coin a phrase which is adopted into popular favor and is used on all occasions, no matter how intrinsically illogical it may be; and the slogan of 1775 was "Be loyal to the King, and oppose his Government, for his ministers are proving their disloyalty by seeking to oppress his loyal American subjects." That this led to all sorts of verbal contradictions was a matter of course, and so Tories were arrested "in the King's name," and Associators pledged themselves to allegiance to the King, and in the same breath bound themselves to whatever revolutionary measure was uppermost at the moment. This has caused endless confusion in the minds of superficial writers of history, who, lacking the perspective furnished by such records as those kept by the Wachovia Brethren, have been unable to differentiate between the popular phrase itself and what it meant to the men who used it in 1775.

The publication of the *Colonial Records of North Carolina* made available to the student of history a vast store of original documents, but the Moravian records give not a few details which supplement the facts already known, or lead to a more intelligent interpretation of those facts. As a matter of convenience, therefore, it is not amiss to draw attention to what may be called the *new material* to be found in the following pages, bearing especially on the Revolutionary history of North Carolina, in the year 1775.

The Bagge Manuscript speaks specifically of the slogan above referred to, and the way in which it was used; and gives a vivid outline of the political history of the year, including several hitherto unknown details. From this, and from the Diaries of Salem and Bethabara, it is learned that on March 24th Surry County elected two delegates to the New Bern Convention of April, 1775, James Glen, a Tory, and Robert Lanier, a Liberty Man. The Minutes printed in the *Colonial Records* leave Surry blank in the list of delegates, but there is no doubt that these two men attended, for both passed through Wachovia on their way to New Bern, and James Glen stopped on his way back and told the news of what had happened, speaking from the Loyalist point of view. It would appear that at this time Surry County was for peace, for the delegates had been instructed not to mix in the affairs of Boston, but to strive for just laws. The Regulator party was strong on the Yadkin and Town Fork in 1771, and the element of the population that supported that movement was still concerned chiefly with the thought of lower or no taxes.

On May 8th a rumor reached Salem that there had been blood shed in New England; this date is far earlier than has hitherto been believed possible, but there is no reason for disbelieving it in view of the inexplicable rapidity with which rumors spread. Eight days later a package of letters and newspapers was brought to Bethania and, on the following day, to Salem; the letters were of date as late as May 1st, and reached Bethania on May 16th, so Conrad, coming at the ordinary rate of travel, not as Express, had been only fifteen or sixteen days on the road from Pennsylvania to Wachovia; from April 19th to May 8th allows nineteen or twenty days for the rumor to come from New England. The letters brought spoke of the battle of April 19th; the newspapers reported that Parliament had declared the American Provinces in a state of rebellion, because of the Continental Congress held in Philadelphia in September, 1774.

June 23rd, James Glen and Robert Lanier were again elected Assemblymen from Surry County, but Gov. Martin had fled to Fort Johnston, and no session of the Assembly was called.

June 24th, Salem received a copy of the *Proceedings of the Committee of New Bern*; some time during this month the Brethren heard that the men of Mecklenburg County had unseated all their Justices and had put Select Men in their places; and on July 7th Captain Jack, returning from Philadelphia, brought two Circulars to Salem, one a Call from Congress for a Day of Humiliation and Prayer, and one a Call from the North Carolina delegates in Congress to the men at home to arm themselves and drill, and so prepare for defense or offense.

Every nation has its historical problems, and the most-debated problem of North Carolina history has been the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. The above-mentioned Proceedings of the Committee of New Bern do not appear in the Colonial Records, though there are two printed copies among the Bagge Papers, and it is interesting to compare this document with the so-called Resolves of May 31st, which are claimed by some to be the only paper adopted by Mecklenburg. The New Bern paper (printed in Part IV of this volume), is in three parts; a copy of a circular sent out from Charlestown, S. C. under date of April 27th, 1775, a circular from the Committee of the Town of New Bern and County of Craven, dated May 31st, and a form of the "Association" pledge recommended, with the already mentioned peculiar contradiction of terms, but distinctly intended for those upholding liberty, and opposed to the British Government. The Charlestown circular, dated April 27th, bases its impassioned appeal upon the oppression under which America has labored, and the hopelessness of redress, since Parliament has pronounced America in a state of rebellion; the New Bern Committee refers with indignation to the events "near Boston, where a few Companies of Provincials took up arms in the immediate defence of their lives," and repelled the forces of Gen. Gage. The resolutions adopted by a Committee in Charlotte Town, and printed under date of May 31st, (usually referred to as the Resolves), base their action on the Act of Parliament which declared America in a state of rebellion, but say nothing about Lexington, which would indicate either that the Resolves were written before news of the Battle of Lexington was received, or else that a Declaration, based on the New England news, had already been passed, and this set of Resolves was supplementary thereto, and being a civil document was based on civil action. While Charlestown had heard of the Act of Parliament by April 27th no mention is made of it in Wachovia records until newspapers were received on May 17th. It is natural to assume that Traugott Bagge asked Captain Jack all about what had happened in Mecklenburg; and it was Traugott Bagge who incorporated into his sketch of the Revolutionary War the statement that the men of Mecklenburg declared themselves free and independent, and made such laws for themselves as Congress later made for the nation, but Congress considered this action premature. In 1775 Mecklenburg was not on a national highway, but if the two items of news reached there in the order in which they came to Wachovia, then it may well be that in a public meeting on May 19th and 20th the news of Lexington swept men into a declaration of independence; and a few days later the Committee heard of Parliament's declaration, and included a reference to it in

their resolutions, which do not contain the words "free and independent" though they are revolutionary enough. But unless the Resolves were accompanied by another paper, an outright declaration of independence from King and Government, it is hard to understand why the Delegates should have sent Jack home with the message that Congress considered the action premature, for although the Mecklenburg Committee was bold, and although it had a wonderfully well worked out plan for County Government, the Resolves really did not go much further than the action being taken by Committees of Safety all over the country, which were functioning by advise of and at the suggestion of various Provincial Conventions; neither was it much more revolutionary than the Circular from these same North Carolina Delegates, one copy of which Jack brought to Bagge, and of which other copies were sent elsewhere, one being printed in the *Colonial Records*. Bagge's three statements, taken together, form the outline of a logical story; without the first statement the action in Philadelphia is inexplicable.

Until Aug. 11th there was no Committee of Safety in Surry County. On that date Joseph Williams, Robert Lanier, William Hill, Joseph Winston, and Martin Armstrong, all Liberty Men, were elected delegates to the Provincial Congress to be held at Hillsboro, and were appointed a Committee to form a Committee of Safety, which included themselves and several others, of whom only a Mr. Lynch is mentioned in the Moravian records of 1775. Traugott Bagge, Jacob Blum and George Hauser, Sr. were appointed members, but excused themselves because militia service was to be instituted and they did not bear arms.

On Nov. 16th it is noted that the County Committee had taken over most of the business hitherto transacted by the Justices of Surry, sitting as a Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. The County Court of Surry had met as usual in February, May, August, and November, but in November adjourned on the first day because no business came before it. July 29th, the Bethabara Diary notes that in a meeting on the Town Fork it had been agreed that if the Law ceased to function the people would have to elect Justices to take the place of those appointed formerly by the British Government; but the Hillsboro Congress, sitting in August and September, ordered that Courts should be held regularly, but only under *King's Laws*, that is only for cases of murder, theft, etc. *King's Attorney* Even is mentioned as a member of the Congress, and the use of these terms corresponds with Bagge's statement that the old system of legal phraseology remained in use, though no longer appropriate, a state of things which, being misunderstood, has caused certain of the Revolutionary leaders to be accused of vacillation or inconsistency by uninformed writers.

In addition to the points above mentioned, attention is called to the collection of Bagge Papers, given in Part IV, of which practically none have heretofore been printed.]

From the Bagge MS.

With the beginning of 1775 war began in earnest, and first in the northern Colonies. Great Britain declared certain American ports closed. All the Colonies resented this. In many harbors no British ships were allowed to enter; in others they were permitted to come in and take a load of American products back to England, but were obliged to throw the cargoes from England overboard, and under no pretext were allowed to land them,—for instance in March an English ship reached Charlestown, and its cargo of salt, potatoes and brick was thrown into the water, not by a mob but by the sailors, to make room for the return load of rice. This wanton waste of salt cost the colonists dearly enough, for during the war many were for a long time without salt, and had to substitute hickory ash,¹ which made them first hoarse and then speechless; others paid twelve to fifteen times as much for salt as before the war, and then had to be content with a very bad quality. The situation was somewhat helped by the salt works which were built on the seacoast in all the Colonies, those in North Carolina being not inconsiderable.

In Feb. 1775, our store secured its last regular shipment of wares from Charlestown, though already then many things were scarce and increasing in price. At about the same time the Assembly called by Governor Josiah Martin met in New Bern,² the last to be held under royal authority. They had not been in session long when they entirely broke with the Governor, refused obedience to him and to the King, and resolved that for the rest of their session they would not be an Assembly under the Crown but a Convention to consider and provide for the best interests of North Carolina, in unison with the other Provinces. They remained together three more days, expelled a McNight from the Convention because he spoke in favor of the royal government, recommended that each County should form a Committee to act in place of the Justices and Courts, and appointed a time for their next meeting. Gov. Martin was no longer safe, and narrowly escaped arrest, but he rode openly through the country from Newbern by way of Cross Creek to Wilmington, and down the Cape Fear River to Fort Johnston, where several English war ships lay at anchor. He went on board

¹ Already in 1752 Bishop Spangenberg had suggested the possibility of substituting potash for salt, in view of the difficulty of securing the latter essential commodity, but this is the first mention of the experiment having been tried.

² April 4, 1775.

one of them, and from there sent out several Proclamations,³ condemning the Committees, Conventions, and leaders of the land, but they only laughed at him, and concerted together here and there for their further methods of procedure, becoming the more ardent when the news was received that in April the British had met the colonists between Boston and Charlestown in New England, and blood had been shed. On May 31, 1775, a Circular⁴ was issued by the Committee of Newbern, in Craven County, a copy being sent to us addressed *To the Inhabitants of the Moravian Towns in North Carolina*.⁵ The Committee recommended that other Committees should follow their example, and act for the safety and defense of all; mentioned also that the Governor had tried to form an Association of those who favored the King, wishing them to sign a paper for that purpose, but his plan had been discovered and frustrated. Such a paper did not indeed come into Wachovia, but it came very near, and several Brethren were almost caught in the net, for a certain Justice of Rowan made public announcement, and posted a notice on the School-House of Friedberg, that all loyal subjects in the neighborhood should come to him and repeat the Oath of Allegiance, and some of the Brethren were minded to go and take the Oath, but were warned in time from Salem, and let it rest. People who did then take such an Oath had just that much more to suffer later from those who were agitating in favor of the land.

The above-mentioned Committee of Newbern, etc, had resolved that as the British had attacked the Colonists near Boston and had shed blood, and so in a way had begun war, and as other Provinces had already gathered 25,000 men to withstand the British, and as the negroes might take advantage of the confused times, and rise, it would be wise for the inhabitants to form companies, whose officers should drill them twice a month. The patrols from these companies were to take all arms and ammunition away from the negroes and other doubtful characters.

July 7, 1775, an Express arrived in Salem from Philadelphia, bringing printed Circulars from the North Carolina Delegates in Congress, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and Richard Caswell. One of these Circulars was addressed to Br. T. Bagge.⁶ It contained a general encouragement to withstand the British measures, to guard all supplies of powder, to secure arms, and to drill, so that a stand could be made if necessary. The paper closed with the following words: "*Oppose every effort of an arbitrary Minister, and, by checking his licentiousness,*

³ See introduction to the Bagge Papers, Part IV of this volume, for description of a newspaper containing the Josiah Martin Proclamation of Aug. 8, 1775.

⁴ Bagge Paper, No. I.

⁵ Words printed in italics are in English in the MS.

⁶ Bagge Paper No. III.

preserve the Liberty of the Constitution, and the honor of your Sovereign; look to the reigning Monarch of Britain as your rightful and lawful Sovereign; dare every danger and difficulty in support of his person crown and dignity, and consider every Man as a Traitor to his King, who infringing the rights of his American Subjects, attempts to invade those glorious revolution principles, which placed him on the throne and must preserve him there."

It was indeed the *mode* of the time to oppose the British Government, under the cloak of acknowledging George III as our King. In the same manner a Proclamation⁷ of the General Congress, dated June 12, 1775, which appointed July 20th as a Day of Humiliation, but reached Wachovia too late, contained the following: "It is earnestly recommended to the Inhabitants to pray to God to *bless our rightfull Sovereign king George the III, etc.*"

So far our Brethren in Wachovia had remained in peace, praying that God would turn aside the impending misery, and those who did not unnecessarily mix in the matter were not disturbed. But on July 10th Br. Bagge received a letter from Joseph Williams,⁸ formerly Clerk and Lieutenant Colonel of Surry County, containing an *Advertisement* which was to be publicly posted by order of Samuel Johnson, Moderator of the last Convention in Newbern,⁹ which called upon the inhabitants of the County to appear in Richmond and elect Delegates to represent them in the Convention to be held at Hillsborough on Aug. 20th, Br. Bagge and Br. Bonn being especially invited. However, no one went from Salem or Bethabara. Joseph Williams, Robert Lanier, William Hill the Baptist preacher, Joseph Winston, and Martin Armstrong, were elected Delegates. These did their best to draw the Brethren into the game, though they knew their desire to remain quiet. They also took it upon themselves to name the Committee above mentioned as having been recommended, and to fix the date of its first meeting for Aug. 25th, and among others they chose the Brn. Traugott Bagge, Jacob Blum, and George Hauser, Sr. and sent they written notice of the same on Aug. 11th.¹⁰ The Brethren, however declined the appointment, under date of Aug. 24th,¹¹ explaining to the Committee of Surry County that they could not take part in such discussions because the Brethren did not bear arms. This aroused great attention, and the Committee appointed Capt. John Armstrong and Matthew Brooks to interview the aforesaid Brethren. The meeting took place in Bethabara, Aug. 28th,

⁷ Bagge Paper, No. II.

⁸ Bagge Paper No. IV.

⁹ John Harvey had presided in New Bern, but was in such poor health that Johnston was elected to succeed him in case of his death. This having occurred, Johnston called the Hillsboro Convention.

¹⁰ Bagge Paper, No. V.

¹¹ Bagge Paper. No. VI.

with all formality, and yet with courtesy, their reasons were accepted, and Br. Bagge, who had been told that he must appear before the full Committee on Sept. 20th,¹² was excused from so doing. Br. Bonn, then Chairman of the County Court, was present at the meeting, and was told that until further notice he must issue no more Warrants for debt. In August the aforesaid Capt. Armstrong raised a volunteer company of soldiers, or militia, and took them to Hillsborough to protect the Convention, or Provincial Congress as it was called. This Congress ordered the first issue of paper money, without royal authority, in North Carolina. It was to pass current on a par with silver and gold, and was to be retired in two years; but this retirement was first postponed and then abandoned, until finally 800 paper dollars were only worth one hard dollar,—really it was 8000 paper dollars to one hard dollar, for 800 paper dollars were counted at 8 shillings in Specie Certificates, and one could get as many of those Certificates as one wished at 20 shillings in Certificates for 2 shillings gold. From the beginning it was ordered that if a man refused this paper money, or talked against it, he lost the right to trade, and was considered an enemy of the land. It was ordered by the aforesaid Congress that several Regiments of regulars should be enlisted for service in the Continental Army; that each man should take the Oath of Allegiance to the land; that a Proclamation of Gov. Martin against this procedure should be publicly burned by the Hangman, etc. They also organized a Provincial Council, and appointed a Committee of Safety for each of the six Districts. The Congress also offered large premiums for the quantity production and good quality of various articles hitherto brought from England into the Province. Some one rose and said that the *Moravians* would take all the premiums,—they ought to be expressly excluded; but the majority would not agree to that.

The unsettled people of the land had long been wanting a *revolution*, believing that it would free them from all taxes, which by comparison with other Provinces were here very low, thinking also that they would come into possession of the property of more wealthy persons; they flattered themselves that the golden age had now come, so from this time on they were the more bold, the more active against the King. Many of this type in this and the following years became civil and military officers, others aspired to become such, and these were the men who gave the Brethren the most trouble and were the most dangerous, causing them much harm and much sorrow of heart.

How anxious those who were pushing the *revolution* in this Province were to draw the Brethren into it with them can be seen, among other

¹² Colonial Records, X, 229.

things, in that during the Congress at Hillsborough Br. Bagge received two letters from there, with urgent invitation to take part in their private conferences. They, apparently, would have been glad to have Delegates from Salem, Bethabara, and Bethania, and had any gone they would probably have been given seat and vote.

As the money ordered in Hillsborough had no fund provided for its redemption, and was based only on the honor of the Province of North Carolina, the better class of people had no fondness for it, including the Brethren, for we had a presentiment how it would go. But as it was in circulation it had to be accepted, though each man passed it on as quickly as possible. Imported goods rose rapidly in price; products of the land were for a time worth hardly anything, as there was no export. In addition there was much counterfeiting of the new money, the counterfeit circulating with the real. This was the beginning of need. There were also a number of Brethren who too plainly expressed their attachment to the British Government, under which they had enjoyed so much good, and this was not well taken, and they were called *Tories*. There were many other men, called by that name, who were run down, and suffered in person, reputation and property. Warrants for them were written in this wise: "*Whereas N. complains that N. M. is a Tory, these are in his Majesty's Name to command you to bring him before me to be dealt with as the Circumstances shall be found.*"

The enlisting of the Continentals, or regular soldiers, went well. At first they were uniformed only in hunting shirts and moccasins, of which in September and October the stores¹³ and workshops at Salem and Bethabara furnished many, at public expense. On Oct. 4th the first companies passed through Salem on their way to Salisbury. *Minute Men* were also organized among the militia, that is companies of which each member was prepared within one minute after receiving the call to leave for the designated place. In Surry there were two companies of this kind.

We Brethren were now often urged to take an active part in what was going on, and it kept us busy explaining to the gentlemen that we wished all good to the land, but that we could not take part in the movement. Meanwhile they were furnished from our stores and workshops with many things that could not be had elsewhere, payment being made in paper money.

During this fall the paper money authorized by the Conventions of South Carolina and Virginia also began to circulate in large quantities, as if we in North Carolina did not already have enough of our own.

¹³ Bagge Paper, No. VII.

The Virginians, especially, could not find anything in their Province, could buy articles here, and were glad to be rid of their money.

On Dec. 2, 1775, a false report reached Salem that Gov. Martin had landed with troops on the Cape Fear, and was on the march; before evening the scene had changed and it was said that this Province was determined to march into South Carolina against the royalists there, and our assistance was ordered in an unpleasant manner. Finally an order from Adley Osborn and Griffith Rutherford was brought to the store in Salem and Bethabara demanding 200 lbs. lead on public account to be delivered to Joseph Williams.¹⁴ The order was addressed: "*To the Committee of Surry County, Mr. Bagge, or the Gentlemen who may be in possession of the Lead secured for the use of the public.*" There was an evident desire that through this order some evidence might be secured against the Brethren. On the 10th of the month twelve pounds more of lead were taken.

There is preserved a rough copy of a *Declaration*¹⁵ which the Brethren in Salem drew up during this year: "That they wished to remain true to the King; that they desired all good for the Province of North Carolina, and would continue to do their best for it according to their ability; that they relied upon their Privilege for freedom of conscience and exemption from bearing arms, and in the last event claimed the indulgence, which the Assembly of Pennsylvania had already granted; that they would never do aught which might work harm to the Province; and that they would pray to God to end the present distress and grant an honorable peace." Whether this *Declaration* was sent to any one, or to whom, I do not now remember.

In regard to our commerce it may be noted that we secured some goods from Charlestown in June and September, and from Cross Creek in August and October; many at a much higher price than formerly. The Committees had ordered that at the landing places no salt should be sold to a man who could not show a certificate from the Committee that he was a good *Liberty Man*, (they, like the soldiers, generally wore a buck-tail on the hat instead of a cockade,) but there was no trouble in buying salt at Cross Creek without such a certificate. But salt was already scarce, and whereas it had sold in our store for 9 sh. per bushel it was worth 14 sh. before the end of the year.

As the Brethren, especially in Salem and Bethabara, took no part in what was going on, and as our businesses and commerce continued while around us it had greatly lessened, and as we still had some stock of goods, *jealousy* of us constantly increased, and more or less alarm-

¹⁴ Bagge Paper, No. VIII.

¹⁵ Bagge Paper, No. IX.

ing rumors were in circulation as to what was going to be done to us. Not all were true, but we had good ground to believe others, and to sigh and pray: "Take us into Thy gracious keeping, etc."

At the close of the 1775th year I cannot omit to mention that already in the summer of this year, that is in May, June or July, the *County Mecklenburg*, in North Carolina, declared itself free and *independent* of England, and made such arrangements for the administration of the laws among them as the *Continental Congress* later made for the whole country. Congress, however, considered this proceeding premature.

*Memorabilia of the
Congregations and Societies in Wachovia, for the Year 1775.*

[A few paragraphs omitted.]

We cannot better express our appreciation of the gracious care and guidance of our faithful Lord during the past year than by quoting the closing Text of the twelvemonth,—“His Name shall be called Wonderful”;

Wonderful beyond compare,
Gracious beyond measure.

We humble ourselves at His pierced feet, thankful, most of all, for His sufferings for us; and at the same time our hearts and tongues will overflow with thanks and praise to Him as we sum up and recall to mind the favors which God has bestowed upon us in spiritual and temporal things. He was in our midst; He guarded and established us in His truth, in the true faith; as we read the Holy Scriptures, and listened to the witness of the Brethren as set forth in the *Wöchentlichen Nachrichten*, the Holy Spirit applied them to the nourishment of our souls; and the reports from the Congregations in all parts of the world, read on our Unity Days, have strengthened us, have kept us one with them in spirit, and one in Christ. * * * The special Festal and Memorial Days have been observed, and we particularly mention New Year, the holy Passion season, the 25th of March,—which was observed by the congregation with a Communion, and also by the Choirs,—the 27th of August, the 16th of September, and the 13th of November. On most of these the Cup of Covenant was used. The Choirs have also had their Liturgies and Choir Addresses. The Choir Festivals have been days of especial joy and thankfulness, on which the meritorious life of Jesus Christ was set forth in its relation to each Choir, and each member was urged to let faith in Him establish and build them up, especially through the Choir Communions. On the Doctrinal Days each Choir heard an address on the Text appointed for that Choir, and the

Choir members shared the Cup of Covenant. And we particularly remember the days on which the Testament of His Blood was made manifest in the Holy Sacraments, which took place twelve times this year for the entire congregation, and several other times for the Choirs, and they were days unlike any others, and yet the least to be described, but only to be felt.

A proof of the reality of our membership in the Unity of Brethren was given in the readiness and liberality with which contributions were made to the needs of the Unity, foreign Missions, and the homes and schools for children; and especially in the response when news came of the fate of our poor congregation in Sarepta,¹ when rebels plundered the town, forcing our members to flee to Astracan. Our members have also contributed to the support of the congregations in our towns here, according to their means, and we give thanks to Him Who has made them not only willing but also able to give.

Having been notified by the Unity's Elders Conference that a General Synod would be held in Barby, beginning July 1st, * * * and Br. Marshall having received an invitation from the U. E. C. to attend this Synod, he was given credentials as the Representative of Wachovia, and asked to aid Synod in planning for the best interests of our congregations here. To this end he and his wife left Salem on Feb. 8th, bound for Europe by way of Charlestown; and as U. E. C. had asked that he visit Georgia, and confer with the Single Brethren, Miller, Wagner and Proesing, who had been sent there to establish a Mission among the negroes, as to the best way to make a beginning with their work, he took Br. Proesing with him, the call for him having been received shortly before Br. Marshall's departure. He was presented to the Governor [of Georgia] by Mr. Haversham, President of the Council, who knew the Brethren well during their former residence there,² and again proved himself a true friend and offered and gave all possible assistance in their affairs. The Governor received them with a fatherly manner; and at Br. Marshall's request, and according to the instructions of the Lord, it was arranged that Br. Wagner should live on the plantation of Mr. Haversham, on the Ogeechee, to work among his negroes, of whom there are about 200, and that Br. Miller should preach there in English every Sunday. Before his departure [from Salem] Br. Proesing was received as an Akoluthe, as were also Br. and Sr. Tycho Nissen, this being the first service of this kind in Wachovia.

¹ In southern Russia.

² The first settlement of the Moravians within the present limits of the United States was in Savannah, Ga., 1735-1740.

Our connection with Europe and Pennsylvania has been maintained through correspondence, although as to Europe it has been somewhat curtailed by the unrest in the land, and the smaller number of ships sailing the seas. Our former faithful correspondent in U. E. C., Br. Peter Boehler, was called into the joy of his Lord on the 27th of April; his memory will always be a blessing for us,—when he visited Wachovia in 1754 he helped to lay out the Tract in lots.

In our Conferences, especially the Aeltesten Conferenz, the Lord has given us His counsel and support, and has not once left us without advice, and in these hard times and difficult circumstances this has meant much to us of comfort and encouragement, and as we have turned to Him in childlike faith He has directed our affairs. He has protected us from all attempts to draw us into what is going on, and has kept us minded to remain true to our King,³ George III, and his Government, and daily and hourly we have prayed for a happy reign for him, and that peace might be restored in the English Colonies of America. This has frequently been the topic in our prayer meetings, and often recommended to the members of the Hourly Intercession.

Through Br. Peter we received promptly the Texts drawn for our congregations and Conferences by the U. E. C. in their first meeting this year, and they have been of great blessing to us. That for the Provincial Helfer Conferenz was: "Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken; neither shall thy land any more be termed Desolate,"

How blest and lovely Thy earthly dwellings are,
Wherein assemble Thy Christian people dear,

and this became literally true again this year, for seven more families moved from Maryland to Wachovia. The aforesaid Conferenz has been suspended for a time, however, since Br. and Sr. Marshall are in Europe, and Br. Utley, who was also a member, has gone to the Saviour.

Until shortly before his departure Br. Utley continued his preaching and visiting among the English and Germans on the Yadkin, Dutchman's Creek, and Deep Creek; and in our English settlement, which this year has been again increased by the arrival of several families, and a community of interests has developed which is very promising. The friends there have united in laying up a log house for school and meetings, and are busy with finishing it on the inside. We can further their plans with only an occasional visit, however, until the Lord puts us in position to give them better service.

³ Regardless of former nationality the Brethren settling in the English Colonies regarded themselves as English citizens, claiming privilege as such under the Act of Parliament of 1749.

At the burial of our departed Br. Utley, on Oct. 11th, there was a very large gathering, not only of Brethren from all our towns and their neighborhoods, but also of friends, especially those to whom he had been preaching, who shed many tears over the loss of their faithful teacher and visitor.

On the second Easter day, in Salem, the Vestry meeting was held, and the Brn. Jacob Blum and Michael Hauser were elected Church Wardens for this year.

In spite of the hard times an evident blessing of God has rested upon our commerce, the faithfulness of our hand-workers, our industry and labor, and we acknowledge it with thanks, and wish that they may continue according to the customs and rules of His house, and the special instructions received from our Lord in view of the conditions at present existing.

During a brief visit from a Chief of the Cherokee Nation, called Little Carpenter, who passed through Bethania on his return trip, he was asked whether, if a Brother should be sent to his Nation to teach them of their Creator, he would be kindly received; to which he replied that if Brethren came to instruct or teach their children they would be welcome. * * *

Two men also visited Salem who were of the party that some years ago came from the north of Ireland to South Carolina, having formerly been in connection with the Unity of Brethren. One, named Tipping, who had been a Communicant member at Gracehill, was very sorry he had left there, and expressed a wish to move to the Brethren in Wachovia as soon as possible.

The weather this year was unusual, especially in January and February, when it was constantly as warm as spring, so that by the end of February the peaches began to blossom. In the latter part of March and first of April, when the trees were in full bloom, there came a cold spell, with rather hard frosts at night, which killed all the peaches and some of the apples; the warm weather which followed saved a good many of the apples, so that there was a fair crop. The grain was also in danger, especially from several unusually heavy hail-storms, which sorely injured woods and fields along the Adkin in a strip four miles wide and about fourteen miles long, but, thank God! our towns and surrounding lands escaped without much damage, except to fences and roofs. The long-continued rains, especially at haying time, caused floods here and there, but we have many more reasons to thank our Father in heaven for the rich harvests gathered from our fields, gardens and meadows, furnishing food for man and beast, than to complain about some hardships; indeed we hear gladly from all sides that

the high prices and scarcity of last year are relieved, and lower prices and food for all have been given by God. The goodness of God has also shielded us from sickness.

We are not in position to enumerate all the occasions on which God has protected us during the past year, but a few may be mentioned to remind us how many thanks we owe to Him. Twice the angels rescued Br. Rose, who was in danger of his life; once when his horses ran away and the wagon passed over him, and once as he rode through a deep creek. In the farm house beyond the Wach a large snake was found in the garret and killed; it had probably been there for some time, and might have injured the residents, and especially the maid, who slept in the attic. A Single Sister in Salem had a similar escape when she went to open the spring-house one morning, and found a large snake in her hand instead of the key which she meant to take from where it hung on the wall; she quickly threw it away and was not hurt. Three Single Sisters were attacked by a run-away negro on the road between Salem and Bethabara, and with difficulty escaped from him unharmed. The bad man was captured next day, brought here and turned over to his master; the thief also, who stole several things from the Brothers House, was captured, brought here, tried before the Justice, and the articles, which he had hidden, were recovered. Several others were in danger and might have lost their lives had not God watched over them, and sent His angels to protect them, for instance one Brother who was smelting knives, another who was slaughtering a wild ox, others when the scaffolding at the Tavern fell; and doubtless there were many more dangers, which Satan planned for our harm, but which the Lord turned away and we knew nothing of them.

The Lord has also shielded our Brethren during their many journeys by sea and land,—to Europe, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and here and there through the country.

With tender hands He leads His own
As here and there they go and come,
Praise to those hands so tender,
That turn away all danger.

From the recapitulation of the noteworthy items that concern the whole we now turn to those relating to the various congregations, and first to

Salem,

which thankfully remembers that He Who from His throne regards the congregations has graciously looked upon this one also, and has encour-

aged them through all that oppressed them within or without, according to the beautiful Text drawn for this congregation by the U. E. C.—“Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem that her iniquity is pardoned.”

* * * The Rules and Regulations were again presented in detail to the members, and as it appeared that irregularities had crept in here and there steps were taken to correct them, and with good results. We were much pained to discover wrong doing among some of the young people, so that one young man had to be dismissed, and three others left of their own accord, but he took courage from the knowledge that the Saviour knew our sorrow over this and other troubles and ignorance, and we rejoiced that it led to a renewed determination to consecrate lives to the Saviour.

Several important Congregation Councils were held, partly to inform the members of certain things that had been done, and partly to discuss matters that would come up for decision, for instance, that the Saviour had approved the choice of Br. Ludwig Meinung as secretary for the Aufseher Collegium and Grosse Helfer Conferenz; also that a Single Brother was to be chosen a member of the Aufseher Collegium in place of Br. Merkly, Br. Walther being later elected.

We also thankfully acknowledge that our Lord has concerned Himself with the needs of our congregation, so that through the willing assistance of the members, and through our commerce and work-shops, the Congregation Cash Account and the Congregation Diaconie have been able to meet all expenses, and though more than once a larger sum was needed than there was on hand yet He has always provided the necessary funds, so that the Diaconie never failed; and if one and another business made a deficit, owing to the hard times, He so ordered it that others made a proportionately large profit. The new Store building has been so far finished that Br. Bagge and his family have moved into the living rooms, and the merchandise has been placed in the sales room and store rooms. Br. and Sr. Fritz have moved into the first story of the former store building, and Br. Fritz has fitted up the former wash-house for dressing leather, and has entered into partnership with Br. Yarrell for carrying on his trade. An addition has been built to the mill below Salem, in which flour will be ground, and a saw mill will be run, but this will not be finished until next year.

Br. Heinzman went to Pennsylvania on business for his House, and the widows Bishoff and Tiersch took advantage of the opportunity [to go to Bethlehem]; he returned by Philadelphia and Charlestown, reaching here safely.

The Square in front of the Gemein Haus was put in better order; and the Corpse House on its upper side, which has been in building for

more than a year, was so far finished that it could be consecrated by its use for the remains of Br. Utley, who during his service as Gemein Vorsteher had had the stone hauled for it. This year also the God's Acre for strangers has been fenced in, and the body of a Mr. Jourdan, who passed away at our Tavern, trusting in the Atonement of Jesus, was buried there, this being the first interment. He was here for the second time under the care of our doctor. Besides Br. Utley the Saviour called away another member of the Aeltesten Conferenz, Sr. Wallis, shortly before the close of the year. He alone knows the reason for this; she had been among us only one year.

A negro, Jacob, who had been working in our Tavern for some time, expressed a wish to become a Christian, and was bought from his master, Mr. Hawkins. Our own negro, Sambo, ran away from his master, Br. Herbst, but after he had wandered for several weeks in the wilderness along the Catawba River, and had suffered much from hunger, he was willingly taken and brought back here.

Br. Toego Nissen and Sr. Salome Meurer have been married to take charge of Friedland. John Dixon has been transferred from the Children's to the Boys' Choir, and has been apprenticed to Br. Herbst, the tanner. * * * The Single Brother, Proesing, the first Missionary from here, has gone to Georgia. The widows, Anna Bishoff and Tiersch, have entered the Widows House in Bethlehem. * * *

In Salem Congregation there are

20 Married Couples	40 persons
2 Widows, 1 Widower	3
Single Brethren	40
Older Boys	6
Single Sisters	14
Older Girls	2
Little Boys	12
Little Girls	10
Total	127

five less than last year. [Of these five married couples lived outside the town, so the total population of Salem was 107, of whom 77 were adults, and 30 children and young people.]

Bethabara.

This little congregation rejoices in the peace enjoyed through the protection of the Lord, in spite of the distress and unrest everywhere in the land. * * *

The general Church Festivals of Christendom, and the special Memorial Days of our Brethren's Church, also the Doctrinal and Festal Days of the Choirs, were observed either with the Cup of Covenant or the Communion, the latter being celebrated twelve times by the Congregation with an indescribable sense of blessing.

The dear Father has laid His blessing on our temporal affairs, on our commerce and trades, and also on the industry and labor of those in charge of our farm; the latter has produced a good deal more than last year, in spite of the damage done to the hay by two floods. The members therefore were willing, not only to bear their part of the congregation expenses, but also to contribute to the needs of the Unity, the Missions among the heathen, the institutions for children, and assistance for the poor congregation of Sarepta. God be thanked for making them both willing and able!

In spring the new Tavern was so far finished that Br. John Schaub was able to move from the old, and rather delapidated house into it, and thereby we saw a special act of Providence, for scarcely was the old house empty when the passage and the beams over the guest-room fell through into the cellar; had this happened earlier, at a time when many guests were in the room, much harm and sorrow might have resulted, and we are very thankful for God's protection. Another noteworthy incident was that during the night a thief stole various small articles from the old sheds in the village, but left them in a pile on the open road not far from Bethabara, so that they were found and returned to their owners. On the other hand two Brethren living near Bethabara had horses stolen from under their eyes or from their stables.

At the mill a new pair of stones and a new bolting-chest for corn-meal were installed, which will be a great convenience to our neighbors.

Br. Lorenz [Bagge] made the baptism of several children in the neighborhood the occasion for bearing witness to the free grace of God, and did the same on Deep Creek. * * *

Br. Steinman has been called home, as has also Sr. Rosina Neilson. The latter had long been a faithful mid-wife here. * * *

At the close of the year the congregation consists of 72 persons, of whom three married couples and their children live in the neighborhood. Eight more than last year.

Bethania.

During the past year the Saviour has dealt earnestly with this congregation, and has shown His displeasure with its misdeeds and lukewarmness by thrice forbidding the holding of the Holy Communion, which caused many hours of sorrowful heart-searchings. * * *

The public preaching services have been well attended by neighbors; a rich blessing has also rested on the reading of the Gemein Nachrichten, sermons from the Wochen, and the public reading of the Bible.

In the present distress and unrest the Saviour has permitted Bethania to enjoy His peace, and to be at peace with men.

In regard to food and business it may be said that the blessing of God has rested on our fields and homes, and our crops were spared when hail ruined those of our neighbors. The angels also guarded us in several times of danger, for instance when a Brother was thrown from his horse, his foot caught in the stirrup, and he was dragged until some one went to his assistance and released him. A boy while in the woods was struck on the head by a horse, and lay for a time as though he were dead, but was finally revived by his companions, and was able to ride home.

One young man married outside the town. A girl has been sent to Bethabara to be cared for and trained. In January the worthy widow, Margareth Hauser, the mother of many children and grand-children, went peacefully to the Saviour; and a few days later her daughter-in-law of the same name passed away here in Bethania. * * *

This year there are 100 living in the village; one less than last year. Belonging to the congregation are also ten families living outside the town, all of the adults except three men being communicants.

The Congregation and Society in Friedberg.

* * * The congregation acknowledges with thankfulness the blessing which has rested on the reading and exposition of the Word of God, and more especially upon the celebration of the Holy Communion, which took place seven times this year. The preaching of the gospel was largely attended by neighbors; and each month an English sermon was read for the benefit of auditors from the English settlement not far away. Meetings have also been held for the married people, and for the unmarried of both sexes, and not without blessing.

In material things we have seen that the blessing of our heavenly Father has rested upon house and field, so that members have been able to contribute to the needs of the Unity, to the Mission fund, and also in aid of the afflicted congregation of Sarepta.

Protection has also been given in many dangers, for instance in March, when a cyclone blew off one side of the roof of the School-House, and yet the children in the school were kept safe beneath the shadow of His wings. And in the midst of the unrest of the land our peace has remained unbroken.

Visiting among members and neighbors, especially among the sick, has continued with blessing; and one old man, who for many years has been an enemy of the doctrine of Jesus, and of His people, has given up, and has been taken into the home of members. * * *

At the close of the year there are

Society members	27
Received	12
Communicants	30
Total	<u>69</u>

two less than last year.

Friedland Society.

Of the Friedland Society it should be noted that its school and meeting house was finished, and it was consecrated by a Lovefeast on Feb. 18th, when the fourteen married couples then constituting the Society renewed their allegiance to the Saviour, and their agreement with each other, by signing the Rules; and the consecration of the meeting hall was completed next day with the preaching of the Gospel. At the same time Br. and Sr. Toego Nissen moved thither from Salem, to take charge of them and their children. * * *

Danger was averted during the building of the School-House; and one night a small out-house burned, without setting fire to the wash-house, which was only a few feet away, and this although there was a good deal of wind blowing. Their fields nearly all escaped damage in the sudden hail storm of May 6th, although a strip in the neighborhood was badly hurt.

The children attend school willingly, and study industriously, and opportunity is given to say many a word for the Saviour. * * *

The Society consists of fourteen married couples, whom God has richly blessed with children.

Summary.

The number of those belonging to Congregations and Societies in Wachovia is:—

Salem	127
Bethabara	72
Bethania	100
Friedberg	69
Friedland	<u>28</u>
Total	396

[276 are adults, 120 are children and young people.]

This does not include the number of those living in Wachovia who do not belong to a congregation, but are for the most part served by the ministers of the Brethren.

Extracts from Annual Summary in Wachovia Church Book.

[Written by Bishop Graff.]

All the Provinces of North and South⁴ America were full of war unrest, indeed it came to actual blood-shed between the Royal and Provincial troops, especially in New England; and went so far that if the American Colonies could not be made obedient to Great Britain by force of arms they would make themselves *independent* of her.

Our dear Br. Friedrich Marschall was called by the Unity's Elders Conference to attend the Synod to be held in Barby, July 1, and the Congregations in Wachovia gave him full powers to represent them. His wife accompanied him to Europe; and from Charlestown they visited the Mission Settlement among the negroes in Georgia, to establish which two Brethren had been sent from Europe, Müller and Wagner, and from Salem he took the Single Brother, Andreas Proesing, to be their assistant. The President of Council, Mr. Haversham, showed himself again to be a true friend of the Brethren, and anxious to further their cause; it was a pity that during the summer he died in Braunschweig, on his way to visit in Pennsylvania and Bethlehem.

Diary of Salem Congregation, 1775.

[Written by Bishop Graff. Extracts translated.]

Jan. 3. Br. Utley came back this evening from his preaching tour and reported that beyond the Yatin and on Deep Creek he preached several times in English and once in German. On the return trip he stopped at John Doughted's house and conferred with the friends and neighbors there concerning the School-House which they are now about ready to build.

As he had announced through an Advertisement, the Sheriff, Mr. Shepherd, came to collect Taxes, but when the Brn. Bonn and Bagge asked him what Taxes he would or could collect according to the laws, which they showed him, he was taken aback, and left without further attempt to collect, showing plainly that his action this time was not according to law, and that he had no order from Assembly or Colonel to show.

⁴That is, the northern and the southern Colonies in North America.

Jan. 5. Br. Wallis was given charge of the cupboard containing the papers and documents belonging to his office, and it was moved to his room.

Jan. 9. Br. Proesing, first Missionary to the heathen from here, took the box around and gathered the Mission collection.

This morning Col. Henderson arrived, on his way to land which he has recently bought from the Cherokees, in connection with which purchase the party of Cherokees who passed through Bethabara last November had come in. The land lies on the River Lewicy,¹ and is called by the same name. Br. Bagge changed several gold pieces for him, and Col. Henderson said that when he was settled on his land he would be glad to serve the Brethren there. On the way to Bethabara he met Br. Marshall and talked with him.

[*Marshall's report to U. E. C.* Jan. 9th the Indians mentioned in our last report returned with several wagon-loads of goods they had received in payment for their land. They would scarcely let their leader, Col. Henderson, out of their sight. The whole Province is stirred up over this purchase of the land by private individuals, indeed some say that it did not really belong to the Cherokees.]

Tonight several deer-skins were stolen from the shop of the leather-dresser, Yarrell.

Jan. 11. Peter Krön and Seiz came from Friedland, and reported that the School-House was so far finished that a married couple could live in it, and that they were ready to undertake their support.

Jan. 30. This afternoon Br. Marshall turned over the business of the Administration to Br. Graff, who will attend to it during Br. Marshall's absence; Br. Ludwig Meinung will assist with the bookkeeping. Schumaker's second daughter, Jacobina, has entered the service of Br. and Sr. Wallis. Br. Utley returned this evening from a ten-day tour. On the 20th he had preached in John Doughted's house to the Brethren and friends of the English Settlement, and baptised Wilhelm Douthed's son John. On the 21st he preached in Adam Ellrod's house, this side of the Atkin, and baptised Louisa, the little daughter of a German neighbor, Adam Schwarz. The 22nd he preached beyond the Atkin in Timber Ridge Meeting House to a large and orderly gathering. The 24th he preached on Dutchman's Creek, having recently received a second invitation to come; nearly all the German settlers in the neighborhood were present, they still feel the blessing of the departed Br. Soelle's labors among them. From the 25th to the 27th he visited in the homes

¹ The Louisa River, now called the Kentucky River. The Louisa Land Company, organized Aug. 27, 1774, consisted of Judge Richard Henderson and a number of other North Carolinians. The name was changed to the Transylvania Company, Jan. 6, 1775.

of his hearers in Bryant's Settlement, and had many blessed conversations with them. The 29th he preached in German in the home of Valentine Ries, on Deep Creek. On the 30th he returned happily to Salem.

[*Marshall's report to U. E. C.* We have been as quietly undisturbed as though nothing critical was near us, except that trade in the towns on the sea-coast is doubtful. Our Governor is probably back from his journey to New York, and the Assembly is in session; it is said they will send to the King a statement of their grievances against the Governor.]

Feb. 4. Toward evening two wagons arrived from Charlestown, bringing in goods, and also the rest of the baggage of Br. Wallis and his company which they had to leave behind. Br. Wallis also received letters from the Brn. Wagner and Müller, destined for Mission service in Georgia, who had been detained until the end of last year for lack of opportunity to go thither. Dr. Eusebius entertained them free of charge for several weeks. During their stay with Mr. Felix Long there was a fire near by, and they had to flee the house, with their belongings. It was reported that there was a negro rebellion in Georgia, but it had been suppressed; etc. Perhaps it was providential that they were detained in Charlestown.

Feb. 5. Sunday. In the evening at eight o'clock the Congregation met for the first public reception [of Akoluthie], three being received. Br. Graff spoke first concerning the right and privilege of children of God to make a new covenant that they would live for Him, in righteousness and blessedness, keeping His commandments, and grounded in love for Him, for each other, and for all mankind; then he applied this to the present occasion, when public profession would be made of their desire to yield themselves entirely to the Saviour, to willingly enter His service, and in all things to act according to the rule of His people. Then the two Brethren, Toego Nissen and Andreas Proesing, gave their right hands to the ministers, and Sr. Maria Salome Nissen gave hers to the leaders among the women, in pledge of faithful service, while the verse was sung:

The chief command is,—Love the Lord;

The second,—Serve His people here;

etc.

The service closed with the exchange of the Kiss of Peace, and the singing of the hymn:

The Lamb who by blood our salvation obtained,
Took on him our curse, and death freely sustained,
Is worthy of praises, let with one accord,
All people say Amen, oh praise ye the Lord.

Feb. 8. In the morning the Aufseher Collegium met, and the two young brethren, L. M. and M. W. were called to account for an incident which might have cost them bodily injury. On the 4th, during the Lovefeast, curiosity led them to visit several strangers, who were guarding a company of negroes beyond the bridge, and the Master of the strangers threatened to shoot them.

About two o'clock this afternoon Br. and Sr. Marshall set out on their journey, accompanied by tender wishes for their safety. They went in Peter Rose's wagon, by way of the Friedland School-House, and will spend the first night at Christian Frey's. The Brn. Utley and Wallis accompanied them that far; the latter will so have an opportunity to see the School-House. The Single Brother, Andreas Proesing, goes with them on his way to Georgia; Br. Marshall will consult with him and the other two Brethren concerning arrangements for preaching the Gospel to the negroes in Georgia. At Frey's they will wait for the four wagons which started before day this morning, heavily loaded in Bethabara and here with butter, tallow, and deer skins for Charlestown. The weather looked favorable for the journey, but during the night changed into a steady rain.

Feb. 10. Br. Bagge and Heinrich Schauss left for Charlestown, they will overtake the wagons and the rest of the company. During the morning the weather was still unfriendly, raining and freezing; during the afternoon it cleared, but the wind continued, blowing now from south, now from north-east, with no promise of settled weather.

Feb. 12. Br. Fritz preached in English at the home of George Loesch.

Feb. 13. Br. Bonn went to Richmanstown to County Court.

Feb. 14. Br. Heckewälder also went to Court, having been summoned in connection with a case brought against John Dial.

Br. Graff held the Singstunde, reminding the congregation that ten years ago the Saviour gave to the Conferenz His approval of the spot where Salem now stands; appropriate hymns were sung, and special reference was made to the Text for that day [Feb. 14, 1765]:—"Let Thine eyes be open toward this house night and day, even toward the place of which Thou hast said, 'My name shall be there'."

Feb. 16. Thomas Pettycoart came for the package of letters which he will take to Br. Joseph Neisser at Manakosy.

[*Graff to Nathaniel Seidel.* (Filed in Bethlehem, Pa.) Two things trouble us much. First there is the counterfeit money, gold, silver, and paper, and we were obliged to post a public advertisement saying that we would so treat all false money as to make it useless for circulation.

Since we have done this people have been more careful. The second trouble is theft, for negroes, horses and goods are being stolen, and we have recently lost a few articles in Salem.]

Feb. 18. The two stewards of Friedland, Grön and Seiz, came with a wagon and a cart and took Br. and Sr. Toego Nissen, their baggage and furniture, to the new School-House; where the entire company [of Broadbay settlers] had gathered to give them a warm welcome. The Graffs, Wallises and Petersens accompanied the Nissens. In the afternoon there was a Lovefeast, during which the new Meeting Hall was consecrated, and all the Friedland men and women organized themselves into a Society, in connection with the Unity of Brethren, and with them grounded on the Atonement of Jesus and pledged to show their allegiance to Him in their lives. Their "Brotherly Agreement" was read again, and signed by three more house-fathers,—Friedrich Müller, Peter Schneider, and [Johann] Lanius. This Society will meet each Sunday afternoon. After a discussion concerning the school, etc. the service closed with the singing of a hymn and the Kiss of Peace. Jacob Heyn and Friedrich Hahn and their wives were not there, although a week ago they said they wished to join; perhaps they have changed their minds because George Hahn was not invited to the Lovefeast. The Brethren and Sisters who accompanied the Nissens from Salem then went home, except Br. Wallis, who will hold the first public preaching service in the new Saal tomorrow.

Feb. 19. Br. Wallis returned from Friedland, where he held the first preaching service in the new Saal, and Br. Nissen held the first service for the children. Br. Wallis also held the Reading Meeting in the afternoon, and attended the meeting of the Society; the elder Heyn and his son-in-law Friedrich Hahn were present, and excused their non-attendance yesterday on the score of family circumstances.

Feb. 21. Br. Bonn went to Friedberg, where in Martin Ebert's home he married Ebert's son, Martin, to Hanna Hartmann, [daughter of George Hartmann].

Feb. 24. Br. Wallis went to Steiner's mill to see what progress is being made in building the flour mill. Br. Joseph Bulitscheck met him there, and they discussed the saw-mill; Bulitscheck will be given the contract as soon as he is ready to begin the work.

Feb. 25. Mr. Jourdin, of Guilford County, who was here in the Tavern last fall under Br. Bonn's care has returned for further treatment.

Feb. 27. Br. Utley returned from a ten-day preaching tour, and reported the following.—The audience at John Doughted's was fairly

large, and consisted only of those who have joined in the movement to erect a School-House. * * * In Timber Ridge there was a large congregation, about 200 being present, among them the Baptist preacher, Murphy, who, so soon as Utley was out of the house, himself preached a sermon, which was largely a repetition of the chief points in Utley's sermon. On the 21st the Baptists had a big meeting in Evan's School-house, on Dutchman's Creek, and on the same day Utley had a largely attended meeting for the German settlers in John Henly's house; Jacob Bub was touched with a sense of sin. * * * On the 27th Br. Utley was in our English Settlement, where he and some of the house-fathers went to the place for the School-House, and he drove a stake at the north corner, that the house might be rightly placed when they came to raise it.

March 2. A journeyman tanner came to Br. Herbst, and asked for work for several weeks. Br. Herbst made proper report of the request [to the Aeltesten Conferenz], and as he has much work on hand the man was taken into the Tannery for the present. He was born in the Palatinate; worked for a while in Philadelphia; went to Savannah, Georgia, and was sick there; and came here by way of Charlestown and Salisbury.

March 3. Br. Utley visited the sick Mr. Joardin, and found him full of good thoughts and prepared for eternity; he still remembers with blessing the English sermons he heard here last year.

March 4. Saturday. Br. and Sr. Nissen came on their first visit from Friedland, in order to share in the Communion here. This week they have begun a school for the children there, he takes the boys one day, and she the girls the next day, and both parents and children are happy. They have also visited in the homes of their people. He still finds singing difficult, but that will become easier, and his wife is good help in this as in other things. Half an hour before Lovefeast we were rejoiced by the return of Br. Bagge from his journey to Charlestown. He brought a letter from Br. Marshall, who had an interview with the Captain who took the Brn. Müller and Wagner to Savannah, and had arranged with him to take Br. Proesing and himself thither in a schooner.

March 5. Br. Utley has agreed to teach the school for little boys whenever he is in town, and this meets with the approval of the fathers; it was therefore announced to the children at the service for them, which he held.

March 6. Br. Utley began the school for little boys. Br. Walther has taken charge of the farm of the Single Brethren, in place of Br. Toego

Nissen; Br. Samuel Stotz is to have charge of the garden under Br. Walther's direction; Br. Schreyer is to take the place of Br. Stotz as assistant to Br. Priem in the Brothers House kitchen.

March 8. This morning the four wagons arrived loaded with goods for the store; they came sooner than we expected. Buying for the store went better than we thought it would under present circumstances, but our deer-skins sold for a low price, as they were to be shipped to England.

Br. Charles Holder was sent Express to the wife of the seriously ill Mr. Jourdin, to tell her about her husband.

March 9. We received our Governor's printed Proclamation concerning the purchase of land from the Cherokees by certain private persons, that is *Henderson and Confederates*. It states that this is contrary to the published orders of the King,² also contrary to a special Act passed in this Province, and all men are warned to have nothing to do with it. We also received an Advertisement from Lanier, in which all house-holders are called to assemble at Richmond Court-House on the 24th, to elect delegates to the Congress to be held at New Bern. We will post the Advertisement in our towns, but will not send any one to the Court-House. The weather was raw and piercing, yesterday evening there were snow storms in several places in the neighborhood. Mr. Howkins was here, and agreed to sell us his negro, Jacob, for £100. Matthew Lock's wagon brought hides to the tanner, and took goods from our store for Charlestown.

March 13. Mr. Bailey, accompanied by a doctor, came to see Br. Bagge about the land on which Mr. Armstrong laid out Richmondtown. But his attorney, Mr. Buhler [Pooler] had some time ago arranged the matter with Armstrong, and for lack of the Deed, which Mr. Bailey now had in hand, a new Deed had been secured from the Register's office, so Br. Bagge could not enter into any negotiation with him until he could get back the duplicate Deed from Armstrong.

March 16. In the morning there was a most unusual thunder-storm, with hail stones as large as hickory nuts, which badly injured everything that was in the gardens. The wind blew down many fences, especially around the Square, and half of the shed by the store. No one has seen such a storm in many years. Toward evening the storm passed toward the north, and it cleared, but was freezing cold during the night.

² In 1763 George III issued a Proclamation forbidding white settlements west of the Alleghany Mountains, those lands being declared the property of the Indians.

March 17. Br. Bachhof reported from Friedberg that the storm yesterday took off half the roof of the School-House, and did much other damage.

March 20. This morning about 3 o'clock Mr. Jourdin passed out of Time in our Tavern. For several weeks he had had an internal swelling, which broke, causing mortification, which gave him much pain, and was most unpleasant for those of us who nursed him day and night. Toward evening a company of gentlemen from Guilford arrived, friends of the deceased.

March 21. This morning at 10 o'clock the remains of the above mentioned Mr. Jourdin were interred in our Graveyard for Strangers, in the presence of a number of visitors, including our neighbors from Muddy Creek. Br. Fritz held the service in English; at its close commending to the grace and mercy of the Lord these remains and all who in the future should be interred here, and asking that His blessing rest upon the place.

Mr. Harrison, Deputy Sheriff of this County, came to collect the Taxes. [*Marginal note.* A few days later we heard that, near the Atkin, he died as the result of the breaking of a swelling on his head.]

March 23. This morning Mr. Jourdin's widow left, thankful for all the care given to her and to her husband, for which she willingly paid the charges.

Br. Utley returned from a preaching tour to the usual places. He had read a Proclamation of the Governor against the calling of a Congress at New Bern by Mr. Harvey, Speaker of the Assembly, which it said was an *unwarrantable* act; this would include opposition to the Advertisement of Mr. Lanier, sent to our towns.

March 25. From the gathering at Richmondtown Court-House to-day we hear that Mr. James Clan and Lanier were elected Delegates to the Congress, and were given instructions not to mix in the matter of the Bostonians,³ but instead to bestir themselves to have wholesome laws made for the country.

March 27. The Brn. Bonn, Heckewälder and Valentine Beck went to Bethabara, where the trial of John Dial for debt was to be held before the Justices, Robert Walker and Martin Armstrong. Bonn was to appear as plaintiff and the others as witnesses. It developed that John Dial was in prison in Hillsbury, for counterfeiting, and a *Judgment of Prosecution* was given against him, but it is probably useless.

³ The election of Glen, a Tory, and the instructions given the Delegates, indicate how strong the Tory sentiment was at that time in the parts of Surry outside Wachovia. Lanier, the other Delegate, was an active Liberty Man.

March 28. Br. Triebel took a pump to Bethania for Peter Hauser's well. Through Mr. Armstrong we hear that he has recently been on the Watage with Mr. Henderson; and Mr. Henderson, although he has the Governor's Proclamation in his hands, has made a Treaty⁴ with the Indians, of whom about 1200 were present, for the purchase of land. Mr. James Clan, Assembly-man, was here on his way to the Assembly at New Bern, whither Mr. Lanier has already gone. By Mr. Clan, Br. Bonn sent a letter to the Governor, informing him that when he, the Chairman, was absent, the Court had laid a Tax for the building of a Court-House; that so soon as he heard of it he had protested, but had not been able to get the order rescinded; that the Taxables would complain about it;⁵ and that the Court would be responsible for making trouble, for they were not allowed to impose a Tax without order from the Assembly.

March 29. The Square was ploughed, and sowed with grass and oats; new fence posts were set, and trees planted at the designated places.

March 30. The Aufseher Collegium met and completed the Instructions for the Tavern-keeper, Br. Meyer. They also inspected the weights and measures at the Tavern, Tannery, Blacksmith shop, etc. comparing them with the stamped weights and measures recently brought from Charlestown.

March 31. It is raw and cold, and the blossoms have probably nearly all been killed.

April 3. Letters were sent to Pennsylvania by Christian Conrad.

April 9. At the evening service the Passion Week was begun by two choirs singing the *Hosannah! Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord;* Then the congregation sang:

O how shall I receive thee,
How greet thee, Lord, aright?

and a beginning was made in the reading of the Passion Week story, the sections for yesterday and today being read, interspersed with appropriate hymns sung by the congregation.

April 16. Easter morning at 5 o'clock the congregation gathered in the Saal, and after the greeting "*Christ is risen!*" they went in procession to the Graveyard. * * * The weather was pleasant, though the sun did not break through the clouds until the service was over.

⁴ At Sycamore Shoals, March 14th to 17th, the Transylvania Company purchased from the Cherokees some 20,000,000 acres of land, including portions of the present States of Virginia and Tennessee, and most of Kentucky.

⁵ This gives a clue as to why most of the Regulators of 1771 were Tories during the Revolution, for the men who objected to paying taxes for any purpose whatsoever naturally ranged themselves against the de facto Government, be it English or American.

April 17. It was Unity Day, and Nachrichten were read in four sessions. Between services the Vestry of our Dobbs Parish met, and elected as Church Wardens the two Brethren, Jacob Blum of Bethabara and Michael Hauser of Bethania. Many visitors from our villages and the neighborhood were here, and much was sold in the store.

April 18. Mr. James Clan, Assembly-man, has already returned from New Bern. The Governor had quickly dismissed the Assembly because it was in favor of, not against, the Congress.

[*Graff's report to U. E. C.* The unrest in the land grows greater instead of less. The Governor permitted the Assembly to meet in New Bern, and made an address, earnestly trying to persuade them not to carry out their plans for a Congress; but the Assembly defended the Congress, and the Governor dissolved the body. We hear from one of the Representatives of Surry County, that the Governor asked him expressly what stand we were taking; he was told that we were having nothing to do with the matter, and the Governor replied that that was what he expected to hear.]

April 27. Several men passed, coming from the land on the Watage. They reported that some ten days ago Indians, probably Shawanoes, had killed some of Mr. Henderson's people, who had not heeded their warning to leave, or their claim that the Cherokees had had no right to sell this land.

April 28. Mr. Padged and his family, and young Thomas Peddycoart, from Maryland, passed through on their way to our English Settlement. Some seventy miles from here, in Virginia, Small Pox is raging; Padged's son-in-law took it, and had to remain behind.

May 1. The latter part of last month the weather became springlike, and this month opens in the same way. Today we have seen a great many locusts flying in all directions.

May 6. The well-master, Zimmerman, who came here from Salisbury some weeks ago, returned yesterday, to find out whether he can assist in the laying of water pipes to our town, or whether he shall make an engagement at salt-works in South [Carolina]. This afternoon a committee consisting of the Aufseher Collegium and several citizens were called to consider the matter, and unanimously decided that it would not be wise to spend more money on bringing water from the spring north-west of the town, as it apparently had too little water to supply the town, and yet would cost a great deal; further that if the

man would make a contract to bring the water from the two springs⁶ above Daniel Schnepf's to the old store and to the Square, the committee would propose this to the congregation, and if it was approved they would draw up a written agreement. On the strength of this the man remained here.

May 7. Mr. Padged's daughter passed on the way to join her parents. Her husband, named Laden, died of Small Pox in Virginia on the journey hither,—he bewailed the fact that he had not reached Salem, as he would have liked to die here.

May 8. Br. Bagge finished moving from the old into the new store, and tonight he and his family slept there for the first time. Well-master Zimmerman today measured the fall from the lower spring on Schnepf's run; it will come to the upper sill of the old store, and five feet to spare, so water will stand four feet high in a tank, and can be led to the Square from there. However, in Congregation Council, it was not approved to give the contract to an outsider, and Triebel, Krause, and Friedrich Beck said they would do the work for the price he named.

Tonight several lawyers lodged in our Tavern. They brought an unpleasant report that in New England there had been a skirmish between the King's troops and the Militia.⁷

May 10. Br. and Sr. Fritz moved into the Two-story House; they will occupy the upper story until the lower floor, where the store has been, can be changed into living rooms.

May 13. Br. Bonn returned from Court at Richmondstown. We hear that in the neighborhood of Shallowford on Yadkin River the hail which fell a week ago lay three feet deep in low places.

May 15. Friedrich Müller's wagon came for the baggage of the two widows, Bischoff and Tiersch, and took it as far as Friedland this evening. As it was rainy the two Sisters remained here for the night, and left in the morning in Peter Rose's light wagon, and Br. Heinzmann accompanied them on horseback. They are going to Pennsylvania, Br. Heinzmann on business for his House, as Br. Bagge was not able to fill his commissions for materials needed in the Brothers House trades.

[*Graff to Seidel.* (Bethlehem Archives.) Here come to you our two dear widows, Anna Bischoff and Maria Tiersch, seeking in Bethlehem a little place in the Choir House, care, and a share in the grace of

⁶ Daniel Schnepf lived in the first house built in Salem (1766), the site being on Liberty Street, south of Shallowford. The 1776 Map of Salem, reproduced in Vol. I of this series, shows two springs on the east of the little branch which ran through his lot. The upper of these springs still exists, though no longer used; it is just a little to the north of a line which would extend Belevs Street to the branch.

⁷ The Battle of Lexington took place April 19, 1775, nineteen days before this report reached Salem.

Choir and Congregation. We are sorry that at present we can give them no comfortable accommodation here, for we would be glad to keep them. * * * Although it is superfluous we tenderly commend them, in the name of this Aeltesten Conferenz, to a hearty, loving, reception, and especially to the Arbeiter and to the honored Choir of Widows. In regard to their support,—Sr. Bischoff will receive from the Unity Administration in Wachovia the same amount that Sr. Gammern is receiving; Sr. Tiersch has enough to live on. We wish for them many blessed and happy hours in Bethlehem. * * * I have asked you several times to send us madder plants, but can now report that we have received a number from Charlestown, where much madder is raised; with the plants we have received printed instructions for handling them. They are growing well.]

May 17. This afternoon Br. Richter brought from Bethabara a package of letters, Gemein Nachrichten and newspapers, from Bethlehem and Lititz, which Christian Conrad brought on his return from Pennsylvania. The letters were of April 25th and May 1st, and among other things mentioned the unpleasant fact that about April 19th there had been a skirmish near Boston between the royal troops and the Provincial Militia.⁸ The most recent newspapers report that the Congress held in Philadelphia has been declared a *Rebellion* by Parliament, although Congress vehemently declared its loyalty to the King.

May 18. Joseph Bryant was here, and had much to say concerning the great damage done by the terrible hail storm on the Yadkin on the 6th of this month. It fell over a strip about fourteen miles long and four wide, and was accompanied by a flood which ruined several plantations.

May 26. In the presence of several witnesses Br. Bagge signed the paper stating that he conducts the business of the store at Salem and Bethabara, not as his own but as the property of the congregation.

May 28. Three Single Sisters, returning from a visit to Bethabara, were attacked by a run-away negro about two miles from here, and one of them was knocked down. They gave him 4 sh. and succeeded in getting away, and came home badly frightened. The same negro met Br. Lund on the farm of the Single Brethren; also met Jacobina Schumaker on her way home, and attacked her with a big knife, but as Br. Hurst rushed to her assistance she jerked it away from the man and

⁸ No "Express" messenger came to Salem. The news of the "skirmish" brought by the lawyers on May 8th was confirmed by these letters, which reached Bethania on May 16th and were opened in Salem on the 17th. It may be added that the record in the Diary of Bethlehem, Pa., bears date of April 27th, and reads: "We have seen in the newspapers the disturbing news that in Boston Government it has come to actual fighting between the royal troops and the inhabitants of the land."

ran. Our Saviour has our hearty thanks for His gracious protection of these poor Sisters.

May 29. The above mentioned negro was captured on the road beyond Bethabara by two passing travelers to whom Br. Bagge had told what had happened; they took him to Bethania, to Michael Hauser, who sent him here bound, in charge of the younger Wolf. He denies having done anything wrong; said his master's name was John Marell. The 4 sh. taken from Sr. Krause were found on him.

May 30. The aforesaid negro was examined before Justice Bonn, and although all the witnesses of his deeds were present he would admit nothing; he was therefore whipped, and sent to his master, John Marell.

[*Graff's report to U. E. C.* This month has passed in the enjoyment of the Lord's grace and peace, and our sky has remained clear in spite of the unrest in the land. This has been noted by visitors, who say that they hear of unrest and commotion everywhere, but when they come to our town all is quiet and orderly.

The critical condition of the English Colonies becomes constantly worse, though we personally have no reason to complain. It looks as though many persons would remain loyal to the Government, and from a number of settlements addresses have been sent to the Government, but we intend for the present to remain quiet.]

June 3. We hear from Bethabara that last night a thief went through all the small houses behind the Brothers House there, but so far as is known only Br. Lung's old gun and a few small articles were taken.

Mr. Jesse Benton, formerly Clerk of Surry County, brought a letter to Br. Bonn from Mr. Joseph Williams. Mr. Williams stated that he had bought the Clerkship from Mr. Benton for £600, and asked Br. Bonn's assent to his petition to the General Clerk of the County regarding the office; as all the other Justices have given their approval Br. Bonn must do the same. Benton has come from the land of the Cherokees, where he has built a mill on 10,000 acres of land adjoining Mr. Henderson, taking the land on a 999-year lease.

June 6. Br. Heckewälder, accompanied by Heinrich Hauser, left this morning for Charlestown to buy goods for the store. The wagons had already started. He took a package of letters for Europe, and letters and a box of Communion Bread for the Brethren in Savannah, which he will send from Charlestown.

June 7. There has recently been much rain. Last night there was a very hard rain; about noon today the sun came out and it was op-

pressively hot, but about sunset there were more storms, and it rained heavily for three hours.

June 16. Col. Armstrong came from Cross Creek, and told us all sorts of things about the present unrest in the Colonies, the *confusion* constantly increases, Gov. Josiah Martin is said to have gone to Fort Johnston, in Wilmington they wanted to close the harbor but could secure no gun-powder.

June 22. A man from Jersey near Pennsylvania brought a package of letters from Bethlehem. Br. Schweinitz wrote on May 18th, but there was nothing important except a report that there had been a second engagement near Boston.⁹

June 23. Br. and Sr. Toego Nissen were here from Friedland; she was bled, because of an injury received in a fall from a horse.

An Election was held at Richmond Court-House, and James Clan and Lanier were re-elected as representatives from this County to the Assembly.

June 24. A man from Virginia, who was yesterday at Guilford Court-House, brought a printed circular, containing the *Proceedings of the Committee in New Bern*,¹⁰ and the same from South Carolina. It was addressed on the cover *To the Inhabitants of the Moravian Towns*. Aeltesten Conferenz met in the evening to consider this and other matters, and it was decided to take no notice of it, as no name was given showing who sent it.

June 27. Br. Heckewälder and H. Hauser returned from Charlestown in good health, after a *passable* trip. He brought a large package of Wochen and Gemein Nachrichten, but no letters from Europe except from Br. Wollin. However, there was a long letter from Br. Müller, from Georgia, giving details of his experiences there; and Dr. Eusebius sent the hearty parting greetings of Br. and Sr. Marshall, who took ship on April 13th, and immediately ran out to sea.

[*Graff to U. E. C.* We had a quiet and blessed month, although around us the unrest constantly increases.

In Mecklenberg County, where they have unseated all Magistrates and put Select Men in their places,¹¹ they are threatening to force peo-

⁹ Probably the fall of Ticonderoga, which took place May 10, 1775. It was not "near Boston," but the attacking troops were largely from Massachusetts.

¹⁰ Bagge Paper, No. 1.

¹¹ Paragraphs V-IX of the Mecklenburg Resolves provided for this action. Probably throughout the Colonies there was doubt as to how long the Courts held by the Justices would be able to function, for the Bethabara Diary of July 29th speaks of a discussion among the Town Fork folk as to the possible need of action similar to that planned in Mecklenburg. The Congress held at Hillsboro, August and September, 1775, virtually re-appointed the Justices appointed by Governor Josiah Martin, when it advised certain Justices in Pitt County (appointed by Martin shortly before his flight), to qualify and act, "since it is absolutely necessary that Courts should be held in every County for the Probate of Deeds, Wills, etc." No person, however, might begin a suit in Court without permission from the County Committee of Safety; and the Committee of Safety soon became the real ruler of each County.

ple, and us in particular, to sign a Declaration stating whether we hold with the King or with Boston, but we think that for the present these are only threats. If a higher authority should ask such a Declaration of us, we think we will follow the form of the Declaration made by the Congress in Philadelphia concerning King George III, but say nothing whatever about the points at issue, which we do not understand. If a tax is laid on the people and we are expected to share in it, it will probably be better to bear what cannot be changed, than to refuse and so come into a much worse position. Such a course brought us fairly well through the recent Regulator confusion. We have been told that some of our Brethren in Bethlehem have become members of the Committee there; we know nothing about this except what we see in the newspapers.]

June 29. This evening there arrived a coach, with two gentlemen and their servants, from Virginia. One gentleman was Mr. Fearnly, son of the Mr. Fearnly of Antigua, on whose plantation Br. Braun preached to the negroes; one of the negresses in the party could tell about him, as she had attended his services. Mr. Fearnly's wife was with him; he has an estate on Dan River, and 100 negroes whom he brought from Antigua. Mr. Galloway, who was with him, was in Bethabara many years ago as a patient.

July 2. The above-mentioned visitors left early for Dan River.

July 3. Br. Herbst went to Bethabara, looking for his negro, Sam, who ran away yesterday. We hear that Valentine Frey's negro has also run away, and that a white man may have tempted them both.

July 4. Br. Bagge sent an Advertisement to Richmondtown offering a reward of £3:¹² for information as to the author of the report that there is small-pox in Salem, for people are afraid to come to Salem.

July 7. This afternoon a man from Mecklenburg,¹³ who had been sent from there *Express* to the Congress in Philadelphia, and was now returning, brought a circular,¹⁴ addressed to *Mr. Traugott Bagge*; it was signed by Hooper, Hewh, and Casewill, and contained an *Encouragement* to take up arms, etc. He also brought a Call for a Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer,¹⁵ to be held on July 20th. We will think over these things, and consider what we must do about them.

July 8. Mr. James Clan passed this afternoon in his chaise, on his way to the Governor; he did not state his business.

¹² In all the Moravian records of this period the £ mark was placed after the number of pounds, instead of before it, unless shillings and pence were also stated, in which case the mark preceded. In the translation the modern position is used, as the other looks awkward.

¹³ Undoubtedly Captain Jack.

¹⁴ Bagge Paper, No. III.

¹⁵ Bagge Paper, No. II.

July 12. Just now there are many people coming to our mill, as the mills in the neighborhood cannot run for lack of water. The water at our mill is low also, because the crawfish have made holes in the dam and much water has wasted.

This afternoon a Committee, consisting of members of the Aufseher Collegium and certain other Brethren, discussed the Circular received on the 7th. They found that it was addressed to the *Committee appointed to bring to Execution the Resolves of the Continental Congress*, so we are not meant; and as there is no such Committee in this County we can lay this paper aside with the others.

July 15. For the past days the heat has been unusually oppressive, and burns the ground and the vegetables in the gardens.

July 16. Toward evening the very dry earth was refreshed by a good rain.

July 17. At last the building of the Corpse House has begun. During the past weeks the masons have repaired nearly all the chimneys in town.

July 20. Today was appointed by the Congress in Philadelphia as a Day of Fasting and Prayer, but there is not the slightest sign that any one has taken any notice of it.

July 21. This afternoon a man from the Catawba River brought back the negro Sambo, who ran away from here about three weeks ago. He was very miserable and hungry, has lived most of the time on berries he found in the woods, and will probably not be so eager to run away again. Maj. Lindsay, of Fort Dobbs, sent him here; it cost Br. Herbst £3; that is £2: for the *Reward*, and £1: to the man for his *trouble*.

In the twilight was the meeting for Police Day, which Br. Wallis held. He gave earnest warning against stealing of fruit from the gardens, against gossip and tale-bearing, and against too familiar intercourse with the negroes. He also announced the pleasure walks assigned for the Single Brethren and Sisters:—for three Sundays the Brethren should have the roads toward the bridge and by the brewery, and on Gemein Tag the road to Bethabara; on Gemein Tag the Sisters should have the road to the bridge, and on other Sundays the roads toward Bethabara and the Brushy Fork.

July 22. Br. Bonn, as Justice, sentenced the negro Sambo to the punishment he deserved for running away, and it was administered by young Volp; he bore it patiently and meekly. Br. Bagge had his negress punished also; he has hitherto done it himself, but seemed to be tired.

Mr. James Clan returned; he spoke with the Governor on the man-of-war near Fort Johnston, which he had allowed to be demolished.¹⁶ The papers given to Mr. Clan by the Governor were taken from him in Braunschwig.

July 24. Br. Graff returned from Bethania and Bethabara and found a package of letters and Gemein Nachrichten, which Br. Peter Schneider brought from Bethlehem and Lititz. The letters were dated the 17th and 18th of June, and among other things mentioned that our Brethren there were suffering because of the present unrest; like all others they had been called to drill, but had positively declined, and had sent their Declaration to Congress as well as to the Committee. In the evening the rest of the news from the letters was read to the congregation.

July 25. The Communicant members met, and were notified of the Resolution contained in the letters from the Brn. Nathaniel [Seidel] and Ettwein,—that in the midst of the present warlike unrest and preparations the Brethren there were determined to preserve their freedom of conscience and refuse to bear arms even if they suffered for it.

July 26. In the morning a Committee from the Aeltesten Conferenz and Aufseher Collegium met to discuss what we should do if the widespread participation in military drill should result in a demand on us; though as yet our Surry County is quiet and no Committee exists. The sentiment was largely in favor of following the example of our Brethren in Bethlehem, that we should remain loyal to King George III, that we should do nothing contrary to our conscience, and that what we could not help we would endure.

[*Graff to Seidel.* (Bethlehem Archives.) For some time we have been frequently asked by visitors “whether we hold with Boston, for our Brethren in Bethlehem sit in the Committees, etc.” We have replied in general that in our litany each Sunday prayer is offered for King George III, and that for a long time we have not received a letter from our Brethren in Bethlehem, and this has satisfied the people. Now that we know your opinion we are confirmed in ours, which agrees with it.

At present all is quiet in our County; no Committee has been organized in it, and I think that the last Regulator Rebellion, which cost many lives and brought many into poverty and need, has made people afraid of hurting themselves again, for the burned child dreads

¹⁶ Three days after Governor Martin retired from Fort Johnston to the man-of-war *Cruizer* the Fort was burned by several hundred men under the leadership of Cornelius Harnett and John Ashe. Evidently the Governor desired the story to go out that he had “permitted” the destruction he was powerless to prevent.

the fire. In other Counties, however, it is disturbed enough, and they would gladly draw us into their net, for our Societies and Towns in Wachovia, or Dobbs Parish, give this County great weight.

We do not consider ourselves safe, but we study everything that happens so that we shall not, through carelessness, be rushed into something by other people. Prayer is our weapon, with which we have long since armed ourselves; and our strong fortress is our God, and we live in the peace of Jesus Christ.]

July 29. There is a report that there has been another fight near Boston, and that the *Provincials* have captured a large sloop.¹⁷

July 31. Br. Bagge received a letter from Mr. Joseph Williams, containing an Advertisement calling the Freeholders of this County to meet at the Court-House on the 11th of the coming August to elect 5 Delegates to the Congress to be held at Hillsborough on the 20th of that month. Mr. Johnson, who has been elected to act as Moderator of that Congress, sent the order to Williams, as County Clerk, intending that it should be delivered to the Committee of this County, but as the Committee is non-existent action shall be taken through the majority of the Freeholders.

[*Graff to U. E. C.* Through the protection of our heavenly Father we have passed another month without being disturbed, though here and there thick clouds are rising, and it looks like a storm; yet He who guides the way of cloud and wind can and will protect us.

At the beginning of the month we received a printed Circular signed by the three Delegates from this Province to the Congress in Philadelphia, advising the taking up of arms, also a Circular from Congress appointing a Day of Humiliation and Prayer, * * * but so far as we know almost no one took any notice of them. Toward the end of the month the County Clerk posted an advertisement that the Freeholders should elect five Delegates to a Congress to be held in Hillsbury; if that comes to pass we may be a subject for their consideration. In Salisbury recently they arrested two lawyers, who had written letters to England expressing their desire to be on the side of the King; the letters had been intercepted by the other party, and the lawyers were sent as prisoners to Charlestown. It is said they mean to do likewise with others of the same views, but they may find opposition, for the party that is loyal to King George may be stronger than they think. We take this as a warning for ourselves concerning our letters to Pennsylvania or Europe, for if something like that happened to us

¹⁷ The Battle of Bunker Hill was fought June 17, 1775. Larned mentions the taking of two vessels on Lake Champlain somewhat earlier, following the capture of Fort Ticonderoga.

it would bring harm not only to us but to all our towns and members. It will be better for the time to suspend correspondence, and in all else to be as careful as possible.]

Aug. 1. We are having oppressively hot weather.

Aug. 3. A man from Mecklenburg, sent by Matthew Lock, came to Br. Bagge for orders concerning certain goods still in Charlestown which can be bought. Br. Bagge thinks he will send a wagon thither again. The man said he had helped take the lawyers But and Dun¹⁸ as prisoners from Salisbury to Charlestown; their letters to England had been seized and opened. From this time on we will have to be careful about our correspondence.

Aug. 4. Today two wagon-loads of apples were sold here, they came from the South Fork and the Yadkin. Yesterday a wagon-load from Bethabara was sold here.

Aug. 7. The lawyer, Alexander Martin, attended the evening service.

Aug. 8. Mr. Martin left early for Richmond; Br. Bonn followed in the afternoon, though there is little likelihood that the Court can be held without disturbance. Br. Meyer and George Bibighaus also went on business for Br. Bagge, who sent a letter of apology to Mr. Williams explaining why he was not able to come himself. Sam and Joseph Bryand came, and reported that the Committee in Salisbury had demanded a Declaration from them whether they were for the Country and Congress, or not.

Aug. 9. Br. Meyer returned from Richmond, and reported that there had been no demonstration against the Court; that preparations were being made for the election of 5 Delegates; and that these Delegates would serve as a Committee. Klein, a traveler from Yorktown, reported among other things that in Pennsylvania there was not nearly so much unrest as in Virginia and North Carolina; that there the talk was rather of peace negotiations between the King and Colonies.

Aug. 10. Br. Bonn returned from Court. So far as he knew there was nothing important to be done except arrange for the coming election of Delegates to Congress. The Deed to the land on which Richmond is to be built was recorded for Br. Bagge.

Mr. Kanon [Kennon], a noted lawyer, and a man active in the matter of the Committee and Congress, spent the night in the Tavern on his way to Richmond town.

Aug. 11. Many persons rode to and from Richmond, but no one went from our towns.

¹⁸ Benjamin Booth Boote and John Dunn, of Salisbury, who had been in communication with Governor Martin concerning the enrollment of Loyalists.

Aug. 12. Col. Kanon came through again and told us about the Election held yesterday at Richmond Court-House for 5 Delegates to the Congress in Hillsborough; they are Martin Armstrong, Lanier and his brothers-in-law Williams and Winston, and Billy Hill. He tried to persuade Br. Bagge to serve in the same capacity, saying he would be well received by the Congress. Br. Bagge excused himself, explaining that we are Brethren called for the service of the Gospel, and that we cannot be soldiers, the King and the Assembly have promised us this freedom of conscience, etc. He also read to him from the newspaper the Declaration of the Assembly in Philadelphia which confirmed this.

Aug. 15. Br. and Sr. Graff returned [from Bethania] by way of Bethabara, Br. Lorenz Bagge coming with them to the meeting of the Aeltesten Conferenz. The Conferenz considered another proof of the desire of the world to draw us into the present disturbance; the 5 Delegates mentioned on the 12th have elected three of our people, George Hauser, Jacob Blum and Traugott Bagge, members of the County Committee, and announced this in a letter signed by all of them. The Saviour directed that the matter should first be considered in the recently appointed [Salem] Committee, and then asked about.¹⁹

Aug. 16. The Committee mentioned under date of the 26th of last month met this morning and considered the answer to be sent to the circular [from the Delegates]; and also a written Declaration²⁰ of our position concerning the present circumstances in the land. Br. Bagge prepared drafts of both, which were presented to the Committee in the evening, and with some changes were accepted.

Aug. 17. Toward evening we heard from Bethabara that the Delegates and their attendants had marched direct from the Hollow to the Town Fork, and only Mr. Lanier and Williams had come into the village; they were friendly, and neither asked nor demanded anything,—another sign that the Saviour would spare us needless perplexity.

Aug. 18. Mr. Martin Armstrong did not go with them to Hillsborough.

Aug. 19. Nothing especial happened, except that many people, largely from Virginia, came to buy in our Store, and in the consequent gathering of men in our tavern there was much *disputing* about the present strife in the land, etc. In the meeting of the Stundenbeter the

¹⁹ Through the lot.

²⁰ Bagge Paper, No. IX.

earnest prayers of the Brethren and Sisters were asked for the country, and particularly for the Congress which during these days is in session at Hillsborough.

Aug. 21. The Brn. Bonn and Bagge went to Bethabara and Bethania and discussed with the Committees there the matters considered in the last Committee meeting here, especially the answer which should be made by the three Brethren who had been elected to the [Surry Co.] Committee, of which they approved. Various rumors were heard, among the rest that the Congress in Philadelphia had adjourned and that a Committee of its members were sitting to carry on the work;²¹ but at this time one can place little reliance on reports.

[*Aug. 24. Graff to Aeltesten Conferenz of Bethlehem.* (Bethlehem Archives.) We request that you send us 100 copies of the Daily Texts for 1776, which you are to have printed in Philadelphia, for with the present diminished sailing of vessels there is no hope of getting any from Europe.]

Aug. 25. Br. Bagge sent George Bibighaus to Richmond, to Mr. Armstrong, with the answer of the three Brethren, explaining why they could not sit in the Committee; many probable members were already there who asked much about the Brethren. Br. Petersen went to Bethabara to remind three Single Brethren there of their approaching Festival; he returned toward evening, bringing a letter to Br. Bagge from Mr. Joseph Williams, at Hillsborough, in which he gave Br. Bagge a friendly invitation to take part in another gathering of certain gentlemen from this County, appointed by the Hillsborough Congress to consider conditions in the land.

Aug. 26. Our Committee met to consider the invitation which came yesterday to Br. Bagge. Just before that, King's Attorney Even and Mr. Martin Armstrong arrived, the former on his way to Hillsborough to Congress, the latter to a Committee meeting at Capt. Maibun's in Hawfield. Both expressed their approval of the desire of the Brethren not to mix in public matters in these critical times. With the approval of our Committee Br. Bagge wrote a short answer to Mr. Williams, explaining why he did not come.

Every day brings rumors, and one receives the impression that the American Convention inclines toward peace and submission.

Aug. 28. The Brn. Bagge and Bonn went to Bethabara to meet three of the Surry County Committee, who had been commissioned to

²¹ The second Continental Congress, meeting in Philadelphia on May 10th, did not adjourn until Dec. 12th. Its plan for the union of the American Colonies provided for an Executive Council of twelve, to be elected by Congress from among its own members.

interview them. Among other things Br. Bonn was told that he must no longer, as Justice, issue Warrants on account of debt; he is virtually suspended from office. Br. Bagge was told that on Sept. 20th he and the others who had been elected members of the Committee must appear before it and fully explain why they refused to serve; but when Br. Bagge told them plainly why the Brethren had taken this position they were *satisfied*, and withdrew the order for the appearance of the Brethren before the Committee.

Aug. 30. For some time it has been raining every day.

Sept. 4. It is clear, but the air feels like fall. Br. Bagge was in Bethabara, and received another written invitation from Mr. Williams to come to the Congress at Hillsborough; he did not answer it.

Sept. 15. We hear that the Congress at Hillsborough has adjourned. They made various *laws*,²² as they call them, among others that 1000 men should be enlisted in this County, to be posted in the seaboard counties; and that some 2000 *Minute Men* should be enrolled. Premiums were offered for certain goods if made in this country, for instance linen, woolen cloth, iron for needles, knitting needles, and so on. One man in Congress wanted to debar the *Moravians*, for they would win all the premiums, but Col. Martin, Avery, and Williams would not permit this, and his suggestion was not accepted. Courts shall be held regularly, but only under *King's Laws*, that is only cases of murder, theft, etc. Mr. Lynch, a member of the County Committee, spent the night in our tavern, and attended the evening services, the reading of a sermon, and the singing of "O Head so full of bruises." He reported that at present peace negotiations between England and the Colonies were being pushed.

[*Graff to Vorsteher Department of U. E. C.* On account of the present disturbances in the land business and trade have almost ceased, and therefore the people have no money. For the same reason the sale of land has stopped; and it remains to be seen whether the rents due at Michaelmas will be paid.

²² The Salem Archives have a number of the original imprints of Acts of Assembly, etc., and among them the Journal of the Hillsboro Convention of Aug. and Sept., 1775. From this it appears that the 1000 men were to be raised in North Carolina, not Surry County alone. The first regiment, of 500 men, was to be commanded by Col. James Moore; and the second by Col. Robert Howe, who had Alexander Martin as Lieutenant-Colonel, and John Armstrong as one of the Captains. These two Regiments were to form part of the new Continental Army. For an additional military force the Province of North Carolina was divided into six Districts, corresponding to the Superior Court Districts already existing; and a Battalion of Minute Men, consisting of ten Companies of fifty men each, was to be raised in each District. The Minute Men of Salisbury District were commanded by Col. Thomas Wade, with Adley Osborn as Lieutenant-Colonel. Provision was also made for general Militia service, and the Surry County Militia had as officers, Col. Martin Armstrong, Lieut.-Col. Joseph Williams, 1st Maj. William Hall and 2d Maj. Joseph Winston. Each Militia Company elected its own Captain and subordinate officers.

Our neighbors are steadily increasing the amount of wheat raised, and as the grain cannot be as readily bartered at Cross Creek as flour request has been made that we furnish *merchant flour*; therefore a separate, finer, bolter is being installed, in order to bring more customers to our mill, as without it they will go elsewhere. Br. Bultischeck, who is doing the work, is the only capable mill-wright in this neighborhood; he charges a good deal and is slow, which means a considerable reduction in the profits of the flour mill, but we hope this will be more than covered in the future.

The rather large deficit which the Bethabara tavern again shows can be partly, though not entirely, explained by the increased cost of food, for the tavern-keeper can not charge more than the Court allows, and the rates have not been raised.]

Sept. 18. The evening meeting was dropped, partly on account of rain, and partly because many of the Brethren were in the woods with Br. Schnepf, helping him look for cattle which had strayed away, and which were not brought home until nine o'clock.

Sept. 20. Friedrich Müller's brother was here from Friedland; he will not leave for Pennsylvania until next Monday, for the heavy rain last night will make it impossible for him to cross Dan River.

Sept. 21. Br. Graff went to Bethabara, where he found a package brought by young Heinrich Holder from Bethlehem; he made the trip on foot in thirty days. The letters were dated Aug. 12th and 18th. Br. Schweinitz mentioned the home-going of his wife on July 5th; he was worried about the non-arrival of a package sent from here to Yorktown. At the evening meeting Br. Graff told the congregation the most interesting pieces of news. Some Gemein Nachrichten, but no letters, came from Europe. From the newspapers received it appeared that England and the Colonies were discussing peace; this was confirmed by two Virginians, who came here and bought various things. They were surprised to find our stores still so well stocked with goods, for most of their stores were empty.

Sept. 26. Br. Utley was very ill today; he has been sick ever since his last preaching tour to the Yadkin, in rainy weather.

Sept. 27. Capt. [John] Armstrong came with an order from Col. Martin that he should be furnished from our store with certain articles for clothing the men to be enlisted in this County, payment to be made in the new [Continental] money; our Committee met and decided that the safest thing would be for Br. Bagge to furnish the things asked

for, and take a receipt for them from the Captain; the articles taken were worth almost £10.²³

Two wagons came from Charlestown, one loaded with goods for our store, and one for Br. Heinzman.²⁴

Sept. 30. Br. Utley is much worse, and his home-going seems more probable than his recovery; in the afternoon Communion was administered to him and his wife, for the strengthening of soul and body, especially of the sick Brother,—may the Saviour give him to us again for His service, particularly among the English! One of his hearers, Mr. Joseph Bryand, was here, and visited Br. Utley; he wishes to be informed if the end comes.

[*Graff to U. E. C.* On account of the present condition of things, the laws are not being enforced, and so theft and robbery are frequent. Recently Br. Johann Rank, near Bethania, lost his best mare and saddle, which were stolen from the stable during the night, in spite of the fact that he was on the watch, because the preceding night all sorts of things had been stolen from his house. It appears as if these things are being done by the rabble, who are on their way to Louisiana,²⁵ which is beginning to be settled. Apart from this, affairs have not troubled us much this month, except that since the meeting of the Hillsbury Congress our stores have been called on to furnish a number of things for the outfitting of the newly enlisted soldiers, and have been promised payment in the new paper money ordered by the Congress in Philadelphia,—we run the risk of losing what we have furnished, but dared not refuse, as that would have led to oppression and resentment.]

Oct. 1. For the last fourteen days the weather has been cool but pleasant.

Oct. 2. Today Br. Bagge had his own house-lot²⁶ measured off, and will have a well dug there. The potter, Möller, left today, saying it was too narrow a life for him here; he will work for a while in the neighborhood, and the experience may cure him, and later he may rejoice if he is permitted to return.

Oct. 3. Br. Heckewälder went to Cross Creek to purchase for the store such things as we are out of, and which can still be found there.

Oct. 4. The soldiers recently enlisted in Guilford County marched through this afternoon, and later came also Col. Alexander Martin, who remained over night, and attended the Bible Reading in the evening. The troops are on their way to Salisbury, where Capt.

²³ Bagge Paper, No. VII.

²⁴ For the Diaconie of the Single Brethren; Heinzman was their Vorsteher.

²⁵ Probably the Henderson settlement on the Louisa is meant.

²⁶ South-east corner of Main and West streets.

Armstrong and his company will join them, and they will receive further orders whither they are to march.

Oct. 5. Col. Martin left; he was most friendly. Ludwig Möller returned, and asked for re-admission, but as he wishes to work in the neighborhood, and shows little contrition or concern for the way he left, he was allowed to depart once more. Br. Utley today made his Will, though he is no weaker than for several days.

Oct. 8. Br. Utley was so weak that one could see he would not long remain here below, so toward evening, in the presence of members of the Aeltesten Conferenz and other Brethren, he was blessed for his departure. He was quite conscious, followed with his lips all verses that were sung, and then lay longing for his release, which

Oct. 9. came this morning about 7 o'clock; his life passing as gently as the putting out of a candle, while those about his bed sang a verse. This blessed home-going was at once announced by the musicians with their trombones, and word was sent to our other villages.

[The next pages in the Salem Diary are missing, but the gap is bridged by the following extracts from *Graff's report to U. E. C.*—During the month of October we have received no letters from the Brethren in Pennsylvania, nor have we had an opportunity to send letters to them; and in these critical times we must leave it entirely to the providence of God when a safe way will open to send reports to our dear Brethren in Europe. Meanwhile we will comfort ourselves in believing that our dear Brethren will the more often remember us before the Lord, Who knows our present circumstances, and what the future holds, and will pray that He will advise and guide us.

It has pleased our Lord to take to Himself our dear Brother, Richard Utley, on Oct. 9th, after a very painful illness of three weeks, and we must look to Him to supply another Brother to take his place, both as English preacher, and to take care of the many souls toward whom our Brother has showed so much faithfulness and for whom he has held so many services; we have no one here who can fully carry on his work. Br. Utley's funeral, on the 11th, was attended by a large number of Brethren, Sisters, and outside friends, especially those belonging to the circles under his care, his "church-children," who shed many loving tears over his departure.

The anniversary of the beginning of the Reformation, the 31st, was observed by the reading of the address which Br. Joseph made last year on this occasion.

Ludwig Möller, who of his own accord left the Single Brothers House, on the 2nd of this month, intending to go to Bethlehem, was

taken sick in the neighborhood, came to a realization of his willfulness, and wrote a contrite letter of apology, asking to be allowed to come back on trial, which was granted.

The young Single Brother, George Bibighaus, having finished his apprenticeship with Br. Traugott Bagge, in the store, was given his freedom, in the presence of several Brethren of the Aufseher Collegium and Br. Bonn, Justice of the Peace. We hope that he will be a useful man in this business.

In view of the present uncertainties we have feared that our store might suffer a heavy loss if the money issued by order of the Hillsbury Congress should become valueless because of political changes; our Conferenz therefore consulted the Saviour about the matter, and received the good and necessary advice that we should reduce our stock of goods as much as possible, and this advice we will follow implicitly. At present all around us the stores are completely sold out, or are maintained with difficulty; Mr. Cruden, a merchant with whom we have dealt in Cross Creek, recently came here expressly to offer to sell his entire stock to our store. People are watching us closely, and some have even expressed a suspicion that we must be carrying on a secret trade with England, and must be getting goods from there,—a rumor which might have unpleasant consequences.

Through the protection of our dear Father we have gone our way quite undisturbed, but from the rules adopted in other Counties of this Province it is easy to see that unwelcome demands may be made, especially for militia drill and the like, and then no one can help us except the Lord, the Protector and Helper of Israel, in Whom alone we trust, and Who can save us from all harm and from whatever is unbecoming the character of a Brother.]

Nov. 3. Last night there was a hard thunder-storm, with roaring and trembling as of an earthquake. Br. Bagge visited in Bethabara, and spoke with Heinrich Schmidt, who has returned from Pennsylvania. We hear that George Hauser is also back, but letters will come a little later in Kettner's wagon. By word of mouth, and from the newspapers, we learn that peace can not be expected, but that war appears to be coming in earnest.

Nov. 4. Col. Henderson, and a fairly large company, passed on their way to Louicy.

Nov. 5. Sr. Meyer came to church for the first time since the birth of her little Samuel, and was blessed for his care. Br. Michael Ranke, from Bethania, brought us the letters and Diaries which George Hauser brought from Pennsylvania, and the most important items from them were given to the congregation this evening. It looks as though an

attempt would be made to force our Brethren in Pennsylvania to bear arms, and the reversal of the published Resolution of the Assembly on this point is threatened. If that is done it will increase our danger. Communication between America and England is suspended, so letters to the Unity's Elders Conference must remain unsent.

[*Ettwein to Graff*. Extracts. Bethlehem, Oct. 2, 1775.]

In these times the less one writes the safer, and it is better to be still as long as one can. If obliged to make a declaration one says honestly that he regrets the condition of the land, that we are not enemies of the country and never will be, that we will do all in our power to preserve freedom, so long as we are not asked to do aught against our conscience, that under no circumstances will we bear arms, or personally take part in military service, though we will pay instead. This position was not sufficiently made known in times of peace, which makes it more difficult now. That during the Indian alarms we kept watch and went armed has given a false impression of us; and we are paying dearly for Horsefield's Colonelship.

Concerning the Committee.—I think it would be well to have Brethren serve if elected; they are citizens, and if the inhabitants trust one and elect him I think it would be wrong and dangerous to forbid him to accept. Those elected here have been so far, I think, more for our advantage than otherwise; in the last election in this County none were chosen, as it is planned soon to force the militia drill.

In Boston and its neighborhood all is now quiet; the parties have ceased to shoot at each other, and good reports are expected from London.

The New Englanders have good hopes of conquering Canada. * * * The Canadians tried to call out the Delawares, Shawanoes, etc., against this Province, but they were not so minded, and last month Congress made a Treaty with them at Pittsburg.

All connection with the West Indies is broken off, indeed no ships are sailing. Letters to Europe have to go by the Packet-boat, and will not go free.]

[*Hans Christian von Schweinitz to Graff*. Bethlehem, Oct. 19, 1775. The package you sent for Br. Wollin cannot be forwarded, for all shipping has stopped; it will be taken care of and sent by the first safe opportunity. We are sending *one* letter with the Packet-boat each month, enclosing a short extract from our reports, and we will send a similar brief extract from your reports, and especially the summary of your accounts which require the attention of the Unity Vorsteher Collegium. We have done the same with our accounts, for we know

only too well that in these critical times letters are opened here and in England, wherefore many Captains, coming from England, refuse to carry letters or packages for fear of getting themselves into trouble.]

Nov. 9. The Single Br. George Bibighaus left for Cross Creek; the wagons started yesterday. He will attend to the sale and purchase of goods for the store. Several wagons from Rowan County passed on the same errand; they had a Certificate from the Committee of that County, and we fear that any one who cannot show such a Certificate that he is a friend of the country and against the Government will not be allowed to purchase salt and other things. *O Tempora! O Mores!*

Nov. 10. We received the Journal of the Hillsborough Congress, in which we see the Declaration concerning the newly-authorized [North Carolina] money, that "whosoever will not accept it, or accepts it only at lower rates, or even speaks slightly of it, shall be considered an enemy of the country, and all trade with him shall be forbidden." It shall pass current for seven years, and then be redeemed by a tax of 2sh. per Taxable.

Nov. 11. Br. Bagge received a letter from Charlestown, from Mr. Owen, who wrote that goods could still be bought there, and at a reasonable price. The man who brought the letter reported that yellow fever was raging there and many persons had died. A man came from Cross Creek with salt; he said the merchants there were selling to anyone without asking for a Certificate.

A Lutheran minister, P. Schmid, who serves three congregations in Orangeburg, South Carolina, stopped on his way back from New River. Next day he attended the services, visited Br. Graff, and asked to be received into our communion. He was told that we held as brothers all children of God, no matter what denominational name they bore, and that to be personally received into the Unity was not important, etc. That contented him, and he will continue in his office.

Nov. 14. This morning our Committee met to consider the new Provincial currency, which so far our Brethren have sought to avoid, though they have not refused to receive it. This must be somewhat changed, according to the Resolves of Congress; it was decided that we would accept this money, but pass it on as quickly as possible, and also that it was preferable to barter goods for products of the country, rather than to sell them for this money.

The Brn. Bonn and Heinzman went to Richmond to Court, the latter as witness to a Deed of Jacob Loesch which is to be registered.

Nov. 16. The Brn. Bonn and Heinzman returned from Court; no business was presented, [as the recently elected Committee had assumed

jurisdiction over matters hitherto acted on by the Court,] and Br. Bonn adjourned Court the first day. Col. Martin said there was no foundation for the report that the Committee in Rowan had resolved to refuse to trade with *Non-Associators*.

Nov. 19. The two Bethania wagons returned from Cross Creek, bringing salt for our store.

[*Graff to Johannes von Watteville. Nov. 22, 1775.*

The most important thing that I have to report is that to this hour we have remained undisturbed, though we have had to bear our share of the distress of the land.

Bethabara had much sickness in August and September, hardly any, old or young, escaped, for the long-continued dry weather made the standing water in low places and swamps became unhealthy; but it was only ordinary chills and fever, which passed of itself after a few attacks. In Salem health was good, for that town lies rather high. The harvest was a busy time, for many of the young men had gone out against the Cherokee Indians, but it was successfully gathered. The Indian expedition is now over; in the lower and middle sections of their land most of the towns were destroyed, and the Indians fled. In the upper section the Indians gathered in a good place, and seemed prepared to defend themselves, but when the white men approached they asked for peace; and it would appear that the danger from the Indians is at an end.

In a few days Br. Wallis will go from here to Bethlehem, for the sake of his health; he has suffered for a long time with a hemorrhoidal diarrhoea.]

Nov. 24. Mr. McNight came from the Atkin to ask whether it was true that soldiers yesterday seized and closed Steiner's mill, as was reported in his neighborhood. Thank God! it did not happen, but a number of such rumors emanating from Salisbury lead one to believe that no good is being planned for us there. In the evening "O Head so full of bruises" was sung; many visitors were present, including Col. Martin and other gentlemen.

Nov. 26. The gentlemen mentioned on the 24th returned from Bethabara *well pleased*, and attended the services here. Mr. Martin left for Salisbury, as he is expecting orders calling his soldiers to South Carolina,²⁷ where the two parties,—Royal and Provincial,—are about to become involved in local strife, or have already begun hostilities; the

²⁷ He led 700 men into South Carolina early in December. On account of the inclement weather the expedition became known as "the snow campaign."

gentlemen seemed somewhat embarrassed in speaking of the matter, and left this afternoon, two for Salisbury and two for Guilford.

Nov. 27. Three wagons from Bethania passed on their way to Cross Creek for salt. Br. Miksch went with them from here, taking tallow, candles and manufactured tobacco, for sale. A man coming from Cross Creek said there was a report that a frigate had landed troops near Willmington.

Nov. 29. A wagon from Bethabara, and one sent by the Single Brethren, left for Cross Creek, loaded with wheat, in order to buy salt. At sunset Br. George Bibighaus returned from Cross Creek and New Bern; he managed his first expedition for the store very well. He confirmed the report that tenders from men-of-war lie before New Bern and Willmington.

[*Graff to U. E. C.* Again this month many people have come to our store and workshops, as almost nothing can be bought in the stores elsewhere in our neighborhood. As we were advised last month to reduce our sales, and only to provide ourselves with the articles most necessary for living, our trade is now largely with Cross Creek, where salt especially can be easily secured. Many wagons loaded with wheat, are going thither from this neighborhood to buy salt; they are taking also butter, tallow, and meat, which can hardly be sold in these times of low, poor prices, and which cause great loss to the people.

Christoph Boues, formerly of Bethlehem, has come with six nearly grown children to Bethabara, and plans to settle on land in the neighborhood.

It looks as though the unrest of the country would become civil war, but we trust our dear Lord that He will shelter us under His wings from the ills of earth, as He has done hitherto.]

Dec. 1. A report has spread that Gov. Tryon²⁸ and 700 Highlanders have landed somewhere below Fort Johnston, and have been joined by 700 men from this Province, and that they are marching toward Salisbury and Mecklenburg; Gov. [Josiah] Martin commands one regiment and Gov. Tryon the other. The news was brought by a traveller, who heard it from Capt. Zapfenfeld, who had been preparing to march his company to Salisbury, to general muster, when he received a letter from Mr. Fields, of Guilford County, containing the above information, which he had heard from two English officers. Capt. Zapfenfeld at

²⁸ These reports were largely without foundation, but present an interesting study of the current rumors and their effect on the settlers. Tryon did not return to North Carolina, Governor Martin remained aboard his ship; and no royal troops landed in North Carolina during these months, though several groups of Highlanders arrived and joined their fellow-countrymen in the Cross Creek neighborhood, where loyalist officers secretly endeavored to arouse sentiment in favor of the King.

once summoned his men and will join the above-mentioned troops. If this report is true it will bring great changes.

Dec. 2. Br. Heckewälder was sent to Bethabara with the news we heard yesterday. This afternoon Capt. Zapfenfeld himself arrived, from whom we learned that a man named Edward Frazier had brought a written order to Capt. Fields, in Guilford, that such of his company as wished to be true to the King should be held ready to march at the slightest warning; Frasier had added that from these preparations it might be assumed that a fleet had brought enough troops, and that they had recently landed, and that a skirmish had probably already taken place. Zapfenfeld had sent the report and the order on to Capt. Phelps. As the report needs to be received with circumspection the Brn. Walther and Lund were sent to Bethabara and Bethania this afternoon with the necessary warning. Mr. McNally²⁹ passed on his return from Salisbury, where he had attended a meeting of the Council of Safety, and told us, confidentially, that in the meeting there had been talk to our disadvantage, the occasion being that a few days ago Billy Hall, who was drunk, said that everybody in this section was for the King; William Hill was present and heard it, though at Br. Meyer's request he had agreed to excuse it. We can see that they are planning against us, and Mr. Joseph Williams showed a similarly unfavorable frame of mind when he came this evening, bringing instructions from the Committee that he should take away the lead we secured three months ago; he also said that the Militia would be called out in view of the impending danger, etc.

[*Graff to U. E. C.* We must not leave unmentioned a most curious phenomenon which we saw on the evening of the 4th. In the twilight, on the eastern horizon, there were great streams of fire, from which fireballs shot south and west like cannon balls, separating as they fell. One of these balls fell in the yard of Br. Peter Frey, of Friedberg, near his well, just as one of his children was coming to draw water. She was terribly frightened, and ran back to the house without the water. Br. Miksch, and several Brethren from Bethania, were on the road returning from Cross Creek, and they also saw the display.]

Dec. 8. Br. Miksch returned from Cross Creek; he left the wagons thirty miles back, the roads were very bad, and two of the horses were lame. The Single Br. Jacob Strub went to Bethania for fresh horses, and will meet the wagons. We learn that in Cross Creek the price of salt is higher, and the price of other things is lower. Some gentlemen from Virginia, Cross Creek, etc. gave particulars concerning the land-

²⁹ In the Journal of the Hillsboro Convention the name is spelled McAnalley.

ing of Gov. Dunmore near Norfolk, in Virginia; they had heard nothing of another landing reported to have taken place near New Bern.

Dec. 9. In the meeting of the Stundebeter the text was considered: "When ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars be ye not troubled." The Brethren and Sisters were urged not to be needlessly worried over the present warlike state of the land, neither to take any part therein, for our business was to pray for the land, and while we grieved over its present circumstances we should be very careful that our hearts and minds were not turned from our chief objects.

At midnight the wagons arrived. The expedition was not very successful, it was hard to sell the wheat, and they had to take one cask of rum for it; the Bethania wagon could not sell the hemp, but had to bring it back; they got nothing for a return load except salt of a poor quality.

Dec. 11. Last night there was a heavy rain, and the water rose to the axle of the water-wheel in Steiner's mill, placing it in grave danger. The great bottom was flooded, and the bridge across the Wach was under water at both ends. The water has not been so high for many years, and without doubt much damage has been done.

Dec. 12. Again seven wagons passed, bringing salt from Cross Creek. Three of the wagons were from Bethania.

Dec. 13. There was an unpleasant occurrence here today. An Irish knave, who was driven away from Bethabara yesterday, this morning, in full daylight, went through the dining-room of the Brothers House into Br. Petersen's room, rummaged through his things, and took clothing, money, and a pair of silver shoe-buckles, and hid them in the woods not far from the tavern. He was seized in the tavern and was searched, but nothing was found on him. Next morning, before day, some clothing which was hanging outside the Sisters Wash-House was saved by the coming of the negro Jacob, but the man escaped. Toward evening he came for the stolen articles, (which had meanwhile been found,) and was arrested by several Single Brethren who were waiting for him. He was examined by Justice Bonn, but would confess nothing, and as nothing could be proved he was taken from the town as far as the Town Fork, and there ordered away. We acknowledge the protection of our God, but we are ashamed of the carelessness of our Brethren and Sisters that they have not taken better care of their property in these unsafe times.

Dec. 16. Today Br. Bagge received an, apparently, confidential letter from Mr. Martin Armstrong, asking for advice as to what he should do in these critical times, and what steps he should take in view of

what he had already done (he was an active member of the Hillsborough Congress); either he really regrets it, and fears evil consequences, or else he wants a declaration from Br. Bagge as to what he and we think,—in due time an answer will be sent him from which he can prove nothing.

Dec. 19. We hear from James Bryand, who was here, that his brothers, Sporgen, and others, have sent a messenger to Gov. Martin, who is said to have landed enough soldiers in or near Fort Johnston, and only needs supplies for them.

Dec. 24. Paths were made through the snow in front of the houses and to the Graveyard.

In the evening at 6 o'clock fourteen children had the Christmas Eve Lovefeast, at its close receiving written verses and lighted candles. Only 14 were present, of the others 8 were too young, and Baumgarten's children did not come.

Dec. 29. All day and into the night there was heavy rain, so that no services could be held. A company of gentlemen, from the new land Lewicy, passed through. One of them had traveled thither with Cornelius Sales, and came expressly to see whether what he had heard of us was true. Br. Bagge showed him about the town, and he was *satisfied*.

Extracts from Salem Minute Books, 1775.

Jan. 2. (Helfer Conferenz.) Matthes Oesterlein is willing to undertake the chimney-sweeping.

Jan. 3. (Aeltesten Conferenz.) Martin Ebert has told Br. Bachhof that his eldest son was determined to marry Hannah Hartmann, and they could no longer oppose him, but they wished that he could be married in the School-House by an ordained Minister. This can only be done in the case of members of our Town Congregations, so his request will have to be refused.

Jan. 4. (Aufseher Collegium.) Br. Wallis presented to the Collegium the expense account of his trip from Europe, which amounted to a total of £111:13:10 Sterling. Of this

Br. Schreier's part was.....	£21:15: 9½	Sterling,
Br. Simon Danz' part was.....	2:18: 1	"
Br. Joh: Krause's part was.....	17:12: —	"

Br. Heinzman will assume the costs for the Brn. Schreier and Danz, and Br. Wallis will speak to Br. Schnepf about Br. Krause's account.

Jan 14. (Auf. Col.) Yesterday the negro, Jacob, from the tavern, came to Br. Marshall, and with tears reminded him that there were

only two days left in which to buy him, or his master would sell him no one knew where, and he begged fervently that we would buy him, for he wanted to stay with the Brethren and belong to the Saviour. After careful consideration it was decided to buy him.

Jan. 17. (Aelt. Conf.) As Br. Nissen has accepted the call to Friedland, there was discussion concerning his marriage, and the following Sisters were inquired about:

a) The widow D. shall be suggested to Br. Nissen? The negative was drawn.

b) The Single Sister M. P. shall be suggested to him? The negative was drawn.

c) In similar manner the name of the Single Sister Salome Meurer was considered, and the affirmative lot was drawn: *The Sr. Salome Meurer shall be suggested to Br. Toego Nissen.*

Jan. 24. Br. Nissen shall be married next Sunday.

Feb. 4. (Aelt. Conf.) Br. Miksch has written to the Aufseher Collegium concerning means of increasing his income, and has also discussed it with Br. Wallis. He has suggested going to the next Court to sell his tobacco, but he will be advised not to do this, and we will see that no one from either of our Towns does this in future.

Feb. 6. (Helf. Con.) The last wagon brought stamped weights and measures from Charlestown; Br. Wallis will take charge of them, and the Aufseher Collegium will see that all the weights and measures here and in our other villages correspond to them.

Feb. 14. (Auf. Col.) Br. Wallis reported that Br. Fritz is willing to enter into partnership with Br. Yarrell. After paying interest and other expenses Yarrell will take $\frac{2}{3}$ and Fritz $\frac{1}{3}$ of the loss or gain.

Feb. 20. (Helf. Con.) Oesterlein has made a trial with chimney sweeping, but cannot manage it, partly because he is too fat, and partly because he gets cramp in his feet.

Br. Bonn suggests that the Brethren and Sisters should be careful about buying and drinking tea, so that they do not give occasion for criticism to travelers or visitors; announcement will be made to the members that the store will sell tea only until the 12th of March.

Feb. 28. (Aelt. Conf.) Br. Meinung cannot well teach the school for little boys any longer, on account of his duties as book-keeper.

March 1. (Auf. Col.) George Schmidt is in pressing need of money to buy iron; we will buy the 80 rifle-barrels which he has finished, paying him in cash.

March 4. (Aelt. Conf.) Br. Graff reports that the house-fathers

have offered to teach their little boys at home for the present, as there are not many of them.

March 6. (Helf. Con.) The chimney-sweeping has now been arranged, the boy Gottlob Krause will do it under the supervision of Matthes Oesterlein. Hereafter no chimneys shall be burned out; those that are used constantly shall be swept oftener than others; and all shall be swept at such times, and after making such arrangements, that no one is inconvenienced in kitchen work.

March 8. (Auf. Col.) We considered what to do with the Square. Br. Miksch has given it up. We think that if Br. Wallis will have the stumps removed, and the fence repaired, Br. Stockburger can plant it in oats and grass, and gradually it can be brought into condition for lawn grass.

March 20. (Helf. Con.) Tomorrow morning will be the burial of Mr. Jourdan, who died in our tavern. It will be the first on our graveyard for strangers. Br. Fritz will conduct the service, and will make an address in English. The graveyard shall be properly cleaned out. Br. Bonn shall select the pall-bearers, perhaps from among the English neighbors who attend, and the visitors shall be given first place in the funeral procession. A plot shall be made of the graveyard, and a list of the burials shall be kept. A plot shall also be made of the congregation Graveyard,—Br. Reuter shall attend to it. That the graves may all be of the same size frames shall be made for shaping the mounds. Br. Walther asks that a gate be opened on the east side of the congregation Graveyard, so that surplus dirt from graves can be used in raising the slope on that side.

March 30. (Auf. Col.) In the presence of Br. Bonn, as Justice, the boys John Jacob Wohlfahrt and Martin Lück were apprenticed to Br. Friedrich Beck, master joiner; the boy John Dixon to Br. Herbst, that he may learn to be a tanner; and Gottlieb Strehle to Br. Lund.

April 5. Resolved, that the clay pits on the mill-creek¹ shall be reserved for the pottery and shall be staked in; for each wagon load of clay the potter shall pay 1sh. 4d, for a cart load 8d. As the master mason has examined the clay on Schnepf's run, and has found it far better for building purposes than the potter's clay, those who need clay for building shall haul it from Schnepf's run, and shall pay 4d for a wagon load, and 2d for a cart load.

April 24. (Helf. Con.) It was reported that the Governor was well satisfied with Mr. James Clan's statement that we intend to take no part in the present disturbances in the land.

¹ The clay deposit was in a meadow on the north side of Salem Creek, at the foot of the hill behind Church Street, about where an extension of Walnut Street would reach the meadow.

May 16. (Aelt. Conf.) It was suggested that Sr. Blar should learn from Br. Fritz how to make [buck-skin] gloves, that she later could so support herself in her Choir House. It will be best for her to stay at his house for a couple of weeks, so that she will have a good opportunity; and as she will help his wife with house-work he shall furnish her meals.

May 22. (Helf. Con.) The chief business was the price of butter. As the store is not buying any this year people who need pottery want to pay for it in butter, or else get the pottery on credit; it was decided that it was better to exchange for butter, than to sell on credit. If the butter is taken at $4\frac{1}{2}$ d, or at most 5d, it can be sold for soap-making if it spoils before it can be used *in natura*. If people offer it for 4d it shall be taken, but as a favor, not as though we needed it. Word of this shall be sent to Bethabara.

June 7. (Auf. Col.) The Single Sisters complain that the sheep have been in their meadow several times, and have eaten the best grass. The fence is bad, and shall be repaired.

Br. Stockburger shall be spoken with concerning his dog, which has not only scattered the cattle, but has attacked people.

July 10. (Helf. Con.) It was remarked that Br. Zillman is not careful enough in his duties as night-watchman, for recently the horses of the Single Brethren broke into Stockburger's oat-field, and he neither drove them out nor called Stockburger; he shall be spoken with about it.

July 12. (Auf. Col.) Two circulars from the Congress in Philadelphia have come addressed to Br. Bagge. The one calls on North Carolina to provide herself with arms and ammunition, as it is high time to prepare to protect freedom; the other announces that Congress has appointed July 20th as a Day of Prayer. The Aeltesten Conferenz advises that the circulars be allowed to lie still and sleep. We sent for Brn. Bagge and Bonn, to hear what they thought about it, and they also thought that it was best to keep quiet in the matter. Br. Bonn suggested that in view of the critical times it might be wise for Br. Wallis to take charge of fifteen or twenty pounds of powder, as one could not feel sure the negroes would not rise in rebellion, and in that case we ought to have a supply. This suggestion was approved by the Collegium, and Br. Bagge offered to leave 20 lbs. of powder in his powder house, and take the rest into the store, giving Br. Wallis the powder-house key.

The beat of the night-watchman was again considered. He shall go from the Single Brethren's House to Herbst's fence, then through

the lane and by Stockburger's between the family gardens as far as Schnepf's, then by way of George Schmidt's, on the King's Road to the tavern, from there to the Gemein Haus, and across the Square to the beginning.²

July 25. (Aelt. Conf.) Tomorrow morning there will be a meeting of a committee from this Conferenz, and certain other Brethren, who will consider the present critical circumstances, and advise as to what is best to do. Their discussions and decisions will be kept secret, to prevent a restless spirit among our people, though we will neglect nothing that we ought to think about.

Aug. 1. (Aelt. Conf.) A letter has come to Br. Bagge from Mr. Williams, containing an *Advertisement* calling the Freeholders of this County to meet at the Court-House on the 11th of this month, for the election of five Delegates to the Congress to be held in Hillsborough. From our towns no one shall go except Br. Bonn, who must be there for Court.

Aug. 7. (Helf. Con.) Our best excuse for not obeying the call of the *Advertisement* to the election of five Delegates to the Congress in Hillsbury is that we are not Freeholders.

Aug. 9. (Auf. Col.) The small amount of powder which we are reserving for our own defense (should that be necessary) shall be hidden by two Brethren, so that we do not get into trouble because of it. The guns which are in town should also not hang in sight, since we have conscientious scruples against bearing arms. The Brethren who have guns in their houses shall be asked to keep them hidden.

Sept. 12. (Aelt. Conf.) In Friedland it is now wished that the little boys and girls attend school together.

Sept. 13. (Auf. Col.) It was announced in Congregation Council that standard weights and measures have been received from Pennsylvania, and all who use the like can now test them. Br. Meyer was asked why he had not done so, and excused himself on the score of forgetfulness, promising to attend to it today. He was further asked what measure should be used for cider, whether beer or wine measure? He answered that nobody in this country knew anything about beer measures; to which reply was made that that did not matter, but what was customary in other lands would be the fairest here, and our credit must not suffer. So it was decided that hereafter cider should be sold according to beer measure, not wine.

² On a modern map this would be: From Main Street west on Academy to Liberty, north on Liberty almost to Shallowford, east to Main, south on Main to midway between West and Walnut, north on Main, east on West, north on Church, and west on Academy Street to the beginning.

Sept. 27. (Handwerks Conferenz.) Concerning the wages of day-laborers it was decided to pay 2sh. 8d. in winter and 3 sh. in summer, making a difference between the longer and shorter days. It was decided that each journeyman should receive 16sh. a week. It was also thought that the master mason and the master carpenter should receive 4sh. 6d. a day in summer, and 4 sh. in winter, and this would also apply to the master joiner, when he is working by the day.

Oct. 18. Br. Reuter, as forester, announced that he thought a fair price would be 2 sh. 8d a cord for oak wood, and 3 sh. a cord for hickory. That is also the price for cutting up a cord in the town; approved by Conferenz.

Oct. 18. (Auf. Col.) Thirty-six fire buckets are needed for the town. Br. Herbst was appointed to see Charles Holder, and find out how much leather they would take, and what it would cost.

Oct. 25. Br. Herbst reported that Charles Holder said the leather for one bucket would cost 6sh. and the cost of making would be 6sh. if made in ordinary fashion, but 8 sh. if they were made as they ought to be; so the cost of one fire-bucket would be 12sh. or 14sh. not including painting.

Oct. 25. (Congregation Council) The price of meat, from cattle which have been loose in the woods, shall be:—beef, 2d. per pound, mutton, 2½d. per pound, pork, 2½d. per pound. A gallon of brandy now sells for 4sh. A 4d. loaf of bread weighs 3 lbs. 4oz. at present.

Oct. 30. (Helf. Con.) Br. Bagge is appointed Alms-giver for the wandering poor and the beggars; he shall present his account for this, from time to time, to Br. Wallis.

It was proposed that if old people in the town want to buy candles from Br. Miksch he may sell them for 10d. per pound. But as most persons have been prepared, from the beginning of Salem, to make their own candles it would be better to hold the price at 1sh. per pound. If Br. Miksch could persuade Br. Bagge to send candles to market instead of tallow it would give him a better chance.

Oct. 31. (Aelt. Conf.) Br. Fockel, in Bethabara, has been offered some of the new paper money. He refused it, not knowing what it was, but it dare not be refused; our Committee will meet tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock, and consider what is best to be done in the matter.

Br. Fritz yesterday re-commenced the school for little boys. Br. and Sr. Bagge have taken one of Melchoir Schneider's daughters, from Friedland; she can attend Sr. Oesterlein's school for one hour each day.

Nov. 8. (Auf. Col.) It is time to re-commence the school which we are accustomed to have in winter in the Single Brothers House.

Nov. 22. Br. Heckewälder will begin the school for boys in the Brothers House next Friday evening, and will hold it twice a week, Tuesday and Friday.

Extract from Summary in Bethabara Church Book, 1775.

The Indians on the Ohio made peace with the Indians at Pittsburg. One chief reason that the Indians were willing to do this was that they, especially the Delawares, had heard from our Brethren the word of God, which enjoins peace with every man.

Bethabara Dairy, 1775.

[Written by Rev. Lorenz Bagge. Extracts translated.]

Jan 2. Br. Stach has been ill, but today was able to again begin the school for boys.

Jan. 9. We received word that the Indians would eat dinner in Bethabara, and then leave, by way of Bethania. They came in Col. Henderson's company. We told the Colonel that we would like to talk with him and with the Indians, and suggested going into the Gemein Saal, to which he assented. In the Saal the organ was played, which he and the Indians liked very much. Then we told Col. Henderson that we would like to have the question put to the Indians whether they wished one of our Brethren to come to them, to tell them of their Creator and Saviour, and help them to learn to know Him and to believe on Him? After a discussion with Col. Henderson, which showed that he was not much interested, the question was put to the Indian Chief, Little Carpenter, through the interpreter, Mr. Price, and the answer was that if any one would come and teach a school for children they would be glad. They were quite friendly, especially the second Indian, who is a captain; the Indian woman said not one word, did not even give a pleasant smile, which is the usual manner of the Indian women. Leaving the Saal we went into the Tavern; the Colonel was cordial, and promised that when he returned in August or September he would talk more with us as to what he had done, and how he liked it there among the Indians.

Jan. 13. A man from our neighborhood, who left Philadelphia, Dec. 26, 1774, reported that store goods were very high there; that the fleet lay before Boston; that troops were being enlisted in Pennsylvania.

Feb. 3. A large company of people passed on their way to the Indian country.

Feb. 9. The man who is going to make the mill-stones came, and Br. Meinung went with him to Br. Kapp; they agreed as to terms and Br.

Meinung wrote the contract for them; the stones are to be finished by the middle of April, and are to cost £17: 6:— It rained the entire day, but in spite of that many people were here, as in recent days; it looks as though the road to the Indian country lay through Bethabara! The tavern and the store attract attention,—if only the store had what the people want. We hear that Col. Henderson & Company will probably not be able to hold their land, first because the Indians have already sold it twice, secondly because Virginia claims it by right of conquest, and besides it belongs to the King.

Feb. 11. Threshing is finished. Wheat threshed out 136 bushels, we had hoped for 450 bushels. Rye, 25 bu., we had hoped for 240 bu. Barley, 100 bu., very poor, or we would have had 170 bu. Oats threshed out 140 bu.; corn, 170 bu., buckwheat, 32 bu.

Feb. 13. A beginning was made in breaking hemp and flax. Corn is offered for sale, daily, at 2sh 2d. per bushel.

March 10. There were people here from New River; they said that our Governor has issued a Proclamation saying that whoever bought land from Col. Henderson's Company would be fined £8.

March 27. Col. Armstrong was here; he was up in the Indian country when Mr. Henderson made his Treaty with the Indians, and he and other gentlemen who have recently come from there say there were about 1200 Indians present.

April 13. The Diener, Dienerinnen, and the players on wind instruments, had a Lovefeast. There are 6 Diener, 5 Dienerinnen, and 5 musicians of whom Stöhr and Micke are also Diener.

April 18. Jems Klen arrived from the Assembly. He brought for our three towns a copy of the Governor's letter to the Assembly, and the answer made to it. From the reply of the Assembly to the Governor one can see that the unrest in the land has not ceased.

April 22. Br. Nils Lund came to fasten the locks on the tavern doors. The sign of the new tavern, a star, was hung out. Br. and Sr. Schaub, Jr. moved today into the new tavern.

April 23. As Br. Schaub desired a formal opening of his new house the Arbeiter took dinner there today, and Br. Graff sang:

Euren Eingang segne Gott.

May 4. The home-going of Sr. Nilson was at once announced by the musicians with the French horns.

May 8. Br. Bonn arrived; he will go to Court tomorrow.

May 9. The Brn. Blum and Schaub went to court on business.

May 11. The Brn. Blum and Schaub went to Court on business, the former in the case about the horse. It did not come up, but they say it will tomorrow.

May 12. Br. Blum returned quite late. The case finally came before the Court; it was not tried because the jury could not be gotten together in spite of all the efforts put forth. It was conceded by most of the people there, who knew well that the trouble was with the jury, that we had won the case, and that they must pay.

May 20. In the prayer meeting the Brethren and Sisters were asked to remember the land in their petitions, and its present critical condition; yet they should beware of a partisan spirit, and remain faithful subjects to those in authority.

May 31. The Brn. Kapp and Blum, and our two wagons, went today to get the new mill-stones, which are some forty miles from here on the Hollow Road.

June 19. Two families coming from Pennsylvania brought a package of letters for Br. Graff, and a small package for Br. Lorenz. They said that our Brethren on their way to Pennsylvania had had three or four horses stolen, which detained them three days, and then they had to pay the thief \$6.00 to get them back.

June 22. A man from Virginia, who called himself Capt. Robert, and who lives in Pittsylvania, had a quantity of counterfeit money, which he showed in the tavern.

Mr. Lanier and his Ady, whom he married in Orange, came on their way home; and at their request they were shown around the village by Br. Fockel.

June 24. We hear that yesterday Jems Klen and Lanier were elected Assembly-men.

June 25. Sr. Aust came this morning and lamented with sorrow and tears that yesterday, as her husband was going for the cows, he was beaten by a drunken man, so that he could scarcely get the cows home, and at first could hardly speak; the Brethren soon found that it was probably Vollier. In the afternoon two of the Brethren went to Aust's to learn all the circumstances, which he was able himself to tell them:—he had been near Holder's fence when the man got off his horse and seized him by the throat and accused him of many things, and when Aust did not understand him he went with him to Heinrich Schmidt's, where he again took him by the throat, and gave him several blows on the back, which were still very painful.

July 3. The Taxables were reminded that they should give in their taxes to Br. Fockel, who would give a list of them to Br. Bonn for the Court.

July 11. Philip Vogler, of Friedland, brought his Elizabeth, a child of five years, to Br. and Sr. Micke; she comes as child-nurse, and will be for a time on trial.

July 18. Last night wolves came into the orchard and killed and ate two lambs and one grown sheep. We hear that on the Town Fork and at Shallow Ford there are Advertisements calling for a Day of Fasting and Prayer; they asked whether we knew anything about it, and Br. Fockel told them he had heard nothing of it. Mr. Lanier had received the Circular and had posted the Advertisements.

July 21. Mr. Benner came to see Br. Aust and arrange the affair of his recent beating; Br. Aust agreed to accept something over 40sh. Either Mr. Benner is a partner of the man who is trying to make it good, or he has been promised money for so doing.

July 22. Two men from Maryland visited here, Mr. Padget and Thami Pitikard [Tommy Pettycoard].

July 27. Our Committee met, chiefly to discuss present conditions. The conclusions of the Salem Committee were reported to them and were approved.

July 28. A wagon came from Cross Creek with several bushels of salt. The first oats were brought in and were accepted in payment on a debt, at 3sh. per bushel.

July 29. Our neighbors on the Town Fork had a meeting today to consider what they should do under present circumstances. Not many persons came. It was agreed that if the *Law* ceased to function, they would elect several men to act as Justices.

July 30. Mr. Laneer and Mr. Williams, and their wives, spent the night here. An Advertisement was posted, announcing that at the next Court five men will be elected from this County, to go to the Congress at Hillsburg; that means the beginning of another disturbed time here, and probably means a Committee for this County.

Aug. 5. A man from Virginia had an extract from a letter written in Boston; it said that there had been another battle, and that the General on the Boston side was wounded. Who else were wounded and killed on both sides was not stated. There were several men from the Town Fork in our tavern over night; people are becoming excited, and it is always the worst men from our neighborhood who are most restless.

Aug. 7. An unusual number of people passed through on their way to Court.

Aug. 8. The Brn. Bonn, Meyer, and George Bibighaus came from Salem.

Aug. 9. Br. Blum went with them to Court, to take part in the case concerning the horse that was ridden to death. Lawyer Martin wanted to try the case at once, but the other lawyer, Dun, was not there, and Mr. Hemden [Hampton?] refused to let it be tried. The Brethren reported that the Court was orderly.

Aug. 11. Br. Triebel came from Salem bringing letters which Br. Heinzmann brought from Pennsylvania by way of Charlestown.

From the election of Delegates in this County we hear that all was orderly and peaceful. Concerning us they resolved that we should ourselves elect one of our members to the Provincial Congress, who could so hear what was being done, but if we did not wish to do so it would be all right; they would like to have Br. Bagge with them in the Congress.

Aug. 12. A number of persons were here returning from Court. They brought many items of news which are scarcely to be believed.

Aug. 13. A letter came to Br. Blum, written to him, Br. Bagge, and George Hauser, by the Delegates from this County. It was sent to Salem, to Br. Bagge, by the first opportunity.

Aug. 14. The Brethren of our Committee met. Br. Graff laid before them the contents of the letter from the Delegates, and asked their opinion; the matter will be considered by the Aeltesten Conferenz and the Salem Committee.

Aug. 17. Mr. Lineer and Mr. Williams came through on their way to the Provincial Congress in Hillsburg. They asked no questions, and were very friendly. From Br. Fockel they secured something over twenty buck-tails, which they took with them; they were wearing buck-tails in their own hats, which shows they are for freedom.

Aug. 21. The Brn. Bagge and Bonn were here from Salem on business. Our Committee met, and discussed the decisions of the Salem Committee, concerning present conditions; the chief point was that the three Brethren who were called to become members of the County Committee should make their own answer to the letter. Brn. Bagge and Blum say they have no desire to serve on it, and that they do not think it would be suitable for a Brother to do so.

Aug. 25. Capt. Armstrong came from Hillsburg, and brought a letter to Br. Bagge from Mr. Williams. We hear that in Congress all are anxious for peace, and are seeking to reconcile the various parties.

Aug. 28. A delegation was here from the County Committee, to meet the Brn. Bagge and Blum. At first they were not satisfied with the answer of the Brethren, as it was too short, but when all their questions had been answered they were well content. Their chief concern was whether we would help pay a levy which might be made for the

good of the land; the answer was that if such a levy was made we would do our share, as others did. In the second place they wanted powder and lead; we cannot furnish the powder but they were promised 150 lbs. of lead; they say they want it for use against the Indians if they make an attack on the Colony, of which there is much talk at present.

Aug. 29. Mr. Williams came from the Congress at Hillsburg. He told many things which we are not prepared to believe, but it is evident that not much has been decided, it appears that men are waiting for the answer to the Petition which the Congress in Philadelphia sent to the King.

Sept. 6. Br. and Sr. Kastner were both sick. She had such a hemorrhage from the nose that it was necessary to bleed her. The flow was checked for several hours, then began again, and worse than before.

Sept. 7. Sr. Kastner's nasal hemorrhage still continues, so Br. Bonn was sent for, and a messenger was sent to her parents, as she wanted her mother to come to her. Srs. Rank and Bagge watched by her last night. We also sent to Bethania for the stone which is said to be good for stopping bleeding, and it helped. Sr. Spach reached the mill in the evening. Br. Kastner was so ill that he could not get out of bed.

Sept. 12. Mr. Williams again came from the Congress at Hillsburg. He had much to say about what they had done, but it was only what was in the newspapers a couple of months ago, that is the premiums on manufactured goods.

Sept. 15. Br. Johannes Rank came this morning and reported that last night his chestnut mare and a saddle were stolen from the stable; this is a great inconvenience and loss for our poor Brother. The preceding night butter, eggs, bacon, a cane, and a water jug, were stolen from his house; food has also been stolen at Kastner's, Schaub's, and Johannes Krause's.

Sept. 17. Col. Martin has written to Capt. John Armstrong, instructing him to enlist soldiers and march them to Salisbury.

Sept. 18. Br. and Sr. Kastner had many visitors yesterday and today; they are beginning to improve. Today hop-picking began, and the flax was spread out.

Sept. 26. A man from the north had a newspaper of Sept. 6th, from which we see that, at the order of Congress, the New Yorkers had themselves taken away the cannon; secondly, that the troops had marched away from Boston; but on the other hand the English have placed men-of-war in all harbors, so that no other nation can trade with America.

Sept. 28. Another man from Pennsylvania was here. He brought no letters but could not say enough about the feeling of the Pennsylvanians against the English, and all the Indian Nations wish to help them. He also said that in Philadelphia coffee, sugar and rum are unusually cheap, coffee is 10d a pound, West India Rum is 3sh. a gallon, etc.

Oct. 3. We hear that the troops have marched from the Atkin to Salisbury.

Oct. 4. Some of the Provincial soldiers were here, and in the afternoon Col. Martin came with several others. He wanted certain things from the store, but there was not much here, so he went to Salem, hoping to get them there.

Oct. 5. Last night our new tavern had a narrow escape. A fire-brand rolled out into the living room and burned a hole in the floor. Br. Schaub dreamed of fire, and when he woke there really was the hole in the floor, and had he not awakened the whole room might have burned. This shows how necessary it is to have fire-dogs in the fire-places, and to be as careful as possible.

Oct. 15. Yesterday, while out grape-hunting, Br. Lorenz lost his watch. Two Brethren went to look for it but did not find it.

Oct. 16. Today Brethren went out across the three-acre field and up the Johanna, gathering grapes for community use. Br. Lorenz went along to look for his watch, and found it hanging on a dry root.

Oct. 17. People came from Hillsburg driving 150 head of cattle to the new land, as there a cow can be sold for £6. Many cattle have already been taken there,—a new line of trade.

Oct. 18. The general Muster set for these days in Richmond-town, amounted to nothing, for only the officers went.

Oct. 23. A drove of cattle, belonging to Col. Henderson, passed through on the way to Lewicy.

Oct. 30. Today some of the new money was offered in our store,—a \$10.00 bill, or £4. Br. Fockel did not recognize it, and refused to take it.

Oct. 31. A man who owed the tavern came and tendered a \$1.00 bill of the new money.

Nov. 1. Many travelers again passed through the town, it is said that all roads are full of people going to the Indian land. No new money came today.

Nov. 4. Toward evening there came a company of 20 men, all armed with guns, going with Col. Henderson to Lewicy. Later he himself arrived with more men,—they went on to Bethania.

Nov. 6. Much of the new money came into the town today. Mr. Linshy brought some into the store to pay his debt, and in the still-house he bought brandy for a \$10.00. He became quite wild and positive over the reluctance to accept this money, but finally said that Br. Fockel was quite right, and promised to send us the Resolution concerning this money.

Nov. 9. Toward evening Mr. Hill and Mr. Grebeinem [Gray Bynum?] came to our tavern, the former a strict Boston man and the latter a Royalist. They spent the evening disputing about present conditions. The latter said, in the presence of Mr. Hill, that we ought not to accept the new money, for it would come to us because we had the trade of the country. Br. Fockel had told him so. The former said that the Moravians said nothing, but were friendly and polite to both sides, that being to their best interest, that is they held with both parties, however he only said this to Br. Schaub. He was answered: "If Mr. Hill expresses his opinion concerning the present circumstances it is only said 'Mr. Hill says so and so'; but if one of us said anything at once it was reported 'the Moravians say thus and so'; and so we say nothing about the matter!" Mr. Hill had with him the *Journal of the Proceedings of the Provincial Congress, of North Carolina, Held at Hillsborough on the 20th Day of August, 1775*, and we borrowed it long enough to read a little. We finally asked him to sell it to us, he would not do this, but agreed to leave it with us for a few days.

Nov. 14. New money was brought into our store, but was politely declined, on the ground that the bill was large and we could not change it.

Nov. 15. Br. Blum went to Court, with Brn. Bonn and Heinzmann. All was quiet at Court; there were not many people there.

Nov. 22. The Sisters finished hackling flax; they have 60 lbs. clean flax.

Dec. 1. Br. Heckewälder brought a letter from Br. Bagge, from which we see that Royalist troops have probably landed in this Province. From our hearts we wish there could be peace!

Dec. 2. Sr. Spoenhauer was brought from Bethania to Sr. Fockel, whose little daughter was born about eleven o'clock in the morning.

Dec. 4. This morning between three and four o'clock a little daughter was born to Dorrel Stöhr. Sr. Spoenhauer went home in the afternoon; we were very grateful for her service among us.

Dec. 5. Yesterday and today many have been here, with differing feelings as to present conditions. Mr. Hill was also here, and seemed much concerned as to what might happen; he has been very active in the matter, and said he would keep out of sight.

Dec. 6. There were very many travelers here, from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The community killed hogs.

Dec. 10. At three o'clock in the morning Br. Richter and Samuel arrived with the wagon from Cross Creek. Trade there was not as it was four weeks ago, they paid less for what they bought; salt was scarcer, they got only 25 bushels.

Dec. 11. The large meadow is under water, it has hardly been so high all summer. From the mill we heard that a hole had been broken through, and a large stream of water was running under the foundation; preparations were at once made to strengthen the mill.

Dec. 15. Many people were here on business, especially to buy salt.

Dec. 18. Unusually many people were here on business, especially to buy salt, which is now all gone.

Dec. 20. Much corn was bought at 20d a bushel. There was much complaining because people could not get salt.

Dec. 23. The stormy weather continued, and snow fell 1½ ft. deep. In spite of this many came to sell corn, taking other things in exchange.

Dec. 26. The communicants met in Congregation Council. * * * Then they were reminded to be very careful of their speech in these critical times, and not to join in partisan discussions, as there are many people who go around and hear and then repeat what we think or say.

[The last pages of the Diary are badly torn, and cannot be read in full. On *Dec. 28th* a man arrived, and reported a battle in which 500 Loyalists were defeated by 3000 of the other party, who captured a fort, and the Loyalists who were not taken prisoner fled to the Mountains. The location of the fort was evidently on the part of the page which is missing.]

On *Dec. 30th* the water was again very high, and did much damage to fences.]

Bethania Diary, 1775.

[Written by Rev. John Jacob Ernst. Extracts translated.]

Jan. 9. We received word that Col. Henderson, with six wagons, an Indian Chief, another Indian, and an Indian woman, were on their way here. We went to meet them, and met them not far beyond Bear Creek; Mr. Henderson liked the attention, and was very friendly. After they had rested for a short while in the tavern we invited him, the Indians, and the interpreter, into the Gemein Saal to see the organ. Wilhelm Grabs played for them, and Col. Henderson and the Indians were equally surprised.

Jan. 26. During these days very many people have passed on horseback and in carts going to the land certain gentlemen have purchased from the Cherokees.

Feb. 14. Br. Bonn came from Court and spent the night here.

March 16. The Liturgy could not be held on account of stormy weather, for the tiles falling from the roof of the Gemein Haus made it dangerous to enter. The wind also blew down several fences.

May 16. Christian Conrad returned from Pennsylvania bringing several packages,¹ which will be sent to Bethabara tomorrow.

May 18. The Brethren began to cover the walls of the Gemein Haus with clapboards.

June 23. Several Brethren from the upper town² rode to Richmond-town to the election of Assembly-men; we heard later that Linier and James Clean received the majority vote.

June 26. In this and the following day all took part in harvesting. Fewer outsiders were employed than usually, but in spite of this things went disorderly enough with the young people of the upper town, and the worst of it was that one knew it was done with the knowledge and consent of their parents.

July 7. In the speaking preparatory to the Communion several Brethren and Sisters expressed their disapproval of the recent disorder among the young people of the upper town, in that they worked in couples in cutting the grain, but the parents of the young people could see no harm in it.

July 8. We heard that S----, whose turn it was, was not minded to bake the buns for the Lovefeast, and as no one else could or would take it in hand my wife and I decided to give a Lovefeast to the other Communicant members. It consisted only of bread, salt, and a mug of tea, but the Saviour was present in our midst, and we felt comforted as we looked on the unusually small number present. Several members said afterwards that for a long time they had not had so sweet a Lovefeast, and it was dearer to them than if they had had the best of cake.

Aug. 11. Br. Spoenhauer, Sr. asked me whether I did not think it would be well for several from here to go to the Election, as he feared it would not be liked if we kept so very still. I answered that we could keep still until a question came to us from the right place,³ we were

¹ They contained the tidings of the Battle of Lexington, etc. See Salem Diary, May 17th.

² Those refugees at the Bethabara mill, (during the Indian troubles of 1759,) who helped to found Bethania, settled in the upper town, that is higher on the slope of the hill. The Moravians from Bethabara who joined with them in the establishment of Bethania built in the lower part of the town. It was quite natural that the opinions of those in the upper town should sometimes differ from those of the lower town, their training and traditions being different.

³ That is, from someone in authority.

not obligated to go; but if he and others wished to attend, more as observers than as if they had anything to do there, I would not object, for no one would be there from Salem or Bethabara. It appeared that he no longer cared to go. However, in the afternoon six decided to attend; and returned in the evening, wet through.

Aug. 14. Br. Michael Hauser asked whether he, his wife, Michael and Anna Margaretha, might go to Heinrich Hauser's wedding festivities? It was permitted him and his wife, but not the children.

Aug. 28. George Hauser, Kettner, Johann Müller,⁴ and Heinrich Blum, the last two from Salem, left for Pennsylvania.

Sept. 2. Toward evening some of our neighbors, who had been to Muster, passed with flag, trumpets and fife.

Sept. 16. John Armstrong rode through with the news that he was ordered to enlist fifty men for the service of this County.

Sept. 20. We heard that Heinrich Beroth and his wife, from Salisbury, had come to his brother here; they left again at noon next day.

Nov. 3. George Hauser returned today from Pennsylvania. Kettner's wagon will come tomorrow.

Nov. 4. The evening service was attended by many visitors, among them certain gentlemen who are going to the new land; they were all quiet and orderly.

Nov. 5. Br. Fockel came early this morning to speak with Col. Henderson, who arrived late last evening. However, the caravan had set out for the new land about 8 o'clock.

Nov. 11. We went to call on Br. and Sr. Martin Hauser, and by chance met his tenant, David Ulmer, and his wife, near his fence; they welcomed us in friendly fashion, and invited us to visit them in their little house.

Dec. 6. Several German families arrived from South Carolina. They said people there were not only divided in sentiment, but had taken up arms against each other, and various persons had been killed; and as efforts were being made to force them to take part they had fled, and were on their way to the new land.

Dec. 12. Br. Ranke, Heinrich Spoenhauer and Michael Hauser, with their three wagons, returned from Cross Creek, bringing salt. Br. Ranke could get only 10 bushels, for he did not have much cash, and he had to take other goods in barter for his wheat and flax.

Dec. 27. A party of gentlemen, who passed through with Col. Henderson on the 5th of last month, rode by this morning.

⁴ Son of Joseph Müller of the Spangenberg surveying party of 1752. He and Blum remained north.

Dec. 28. This week and last many people came from one hundred and more miles away to buy salt; it gave out, so we were not able to supply the later comers as we wished. Some went away weeping.

Friedberg Diary, 1775.

[The Diary of Rev. Ludolph Bachhof, more than any other of this period, shows the Pastor at work among his people. He and his wife made frequent visits to the homes of the Friedberg settlers, and numerous conversations are recorded, in which they told him of their hopes and fears, their trials and perplexities, material and spiritual, and he pointed them to the Saviour as their unfailing hope and help. His never-ceasing concern for their spiritual welfare had its effect, and by the close of the year several had been admitted into the Society and Congregation, and others were seriously considering the step.

Two young men, who left Salem during this year, stopped in the Friedberg neighborhood, and found that the freedom from supervision which they had sought was by no means the joyful condition they had expected. Möller went through deep waters of hard times, regret, and sickness, coming now and again to Bachhof for advice, comfort, and a good word with the authorities at Salem, and finally received permission to return to Salem on trial. Weiss was less confidential, and was more successful at finding work, (he was a weaver and dyer,) but he also was not happy, and at the close of the year was planning to go to his Pennsylvania home in the spring.

The glimpses of the school are pleasing. It was well attended, and often when the lessons in spelling, reading and writing were finished Bachhof taught the children Bible verses, and hymns; taught them to sing the hymns, so that he often heard them singing together when he was not by; told them Bible stories and showed them the few Bible pictures he possessed; and made a special event of each birthday which occurred among the little scholars.

Of events in the outside world there is very little recorded. In the few paragraphs now to be translated the publication of the Banns is given, because when the marriage was performed by a Justice of the Peace after publication of the Banns there is no other record of the marriage than that in these Diaries. To these are added the very few items given which are of general interest.]

Jan. 3. I was in Salem, and returned to Br. Graff several copies of Gemein Nachrichten, and received others; I also took three Text Books, and the third, fourth and fifth parts of the Life of Count Zinzendorf. Also paid him 2sh. 8d. which Br. Martin Ebert had collected for the Widows Fund, for the term ending last November. After dinner I at-

tended the Conferenz. When that was over Br. Heinzman gave me a letter addressed to Mr. Robert Cochran, merchant at Cross Creek, which he wished me to send through Henry Müller.

Jan. 4. As Henry Müller passed our house I gave him the letter, his brother Michael being with him.

My wife visited Br. and Sr. Ebert, and reported to them that their son Martin, and any other of our young people who wished to marry, but were not Communicant members of the Church, would be obliged to have the service performed by a Justice of the Peace, [not by a Moravian minister]. This was a hard blow to them, and they were much perplexed thereby.

Jan. 22. Young Martin Ebert came to me, and told me of his plans, and asked if I had any objections to his marrying Br. George Hartmann's daughter, Hanna. I said that if his parents were willing, and if Br. and Sr. Ebert were willing to give their daughter to him, I had nothing to say against it. He said his parents were content. I told him to ask his parents to come to me tomorrow evening.

Jan. 23. At the appointed time Br. and Sr. Ebert came, and having given their full consent to the marriage I told them that I would send for Br. and Sr. Hartmann, and that Martin should meet them here tomorrow evening, and ask them for their daughter. This took place

Jan. 24th, and

Jan. 25, young Martin Ebert and Hanna Hartmann were betrothed, in the School-House, in the presence of their parents.

Jan. 29. Sunday. The betrothal of young Martin Ebert and Hanna Hartmann was announced for the first time.

Feb. 5. Sunday. After the preaching the betrothal of young Martin Ebert and Hanna Hartmann was announced for the 2nd and 3rd times.

Feb. 19. The single man, George Heb, who has been working for a year for Christian Frey, and has often attended our public services, brought me a certificate of betrothal from the elder Jacoby, to whose daughter he is engaged, and asked me to announce the betrothal after preaching on several Sundays. I asked him why he did not have the announcement made by a Lutheran minister; he said there was none there, and a License was too expensive. I hesitated, then told him it could not be done before Easter, as the Passion season began next Sunday. He said he had not thought of that, and took a friendly leave.

Young Martin Ebert came for the certificate of the publication of his intentions, and I gave him a little present.

Feb. 21. At Br. Ebert's home, young Martin Ebert was married to Hanna Hartmann by Br. Bonn, Justice of the Peace.

March 16. There was a terrible wind storm, and half the roof was blown off the School-House, the fences around the garden and God's Acre were ruined, and nearly all the small houses on the place were unroofed. Shingles were scattered in the garden, the yard, and in the woods for half a mile around. It happened all in a minute, probably through a cyclone, and on account of the terrible roaring we in the room could not tell what was happening to the house. Some of the windows were blown in, and seeing that the children were frightened I began to sing:

As little birds, all safe and snug,
 In hollow trees will hide them,
 When dangers show, and storm-winds blow
 And men and cattle frighten,
 So the Lord Christ my Refuge is,
 etc.

And after talking to them a little while of the love of the Saviour for children, they ceased to cry, though some of them were so upset that they could not eat their dinner.

In the afternoon a number of the Brethren came, replaced the garden and Graveyard fences, and began to fell trees for laths and shingles.

March 18. With the help of God the roof was safely replaced.

March 21. Today Sarah Müller, daughter of our John Müller, was married to Heinrich Müller, a single man who has recently come from Pennsylvania.

March 29. We visited Martin Walk. He told me that there is a group of people who are opposed to the Brethren, and that they are planning to send a Petition to the Governor, through Justice Spurgeon, saying that the Herrnhuter¹ are claiming land to which they have no Deeds.

May 12. Took Br. Graff £1: 2:—, toward the collection for Sarepta; paid Br. Wallis 2sh. 6d. for two copies of the short History of the Brethren.

May 29. Talked much with Br. and Sr. Höhns, Sr. about their children. I advised him not to go to Bethania on purpose in the affair with Heinrich Hauser, though if he should go there on other business he could give George Hauser an opportunity, and see if he would say anything about it. George Hauser, as father, ought to make the first advance.

¹ That is, the Moravians. The Brethren have often been called Herrnhuter because of the settlement at Herrnhut, Saxony.

June 4. Br. George Hauser, of Bethania, spent yesterday with Br. Ellroth, and today visited Br. Marx Höhns.

June 13. Paid Br. Wallis 1sh. 6d. for a Text Book.

July 17. Mistress Badjed (Padget) visited us; she told us that she had known the Brethren in Carolls Manor, and she hoped they would soon have an English minister here.

July 23. Mr. Fein, the son-in-law of Frederick Daniel Müller, who has a good name in our neighborhood, and often attends our services, announced the birth of his little daughter and asked for baptism for her.

July 30. Sunday. The little daughter of our neighbors, Johann and Louise Fein, was baptised into the death of Jesus with the name Anne Maria.

Aug. 6. In a meeting of the house-fathers I communicated the Declaration of the Brethren in Bethlehem, sent to Congress through the elderly Mr. Franklin, and to the County Committee through John Okly. It stated that they were exempt from drill and the bearing of arms, that they were loyal to King George III, and that they would bear their share of the taxes, so far as such were not against their conscience.

Aug. 16. We had an unexpected visit from Br. and Sr. Heinrich Schoor, of Bethania, who were yesterday at the wedding of Heinrich Hauser [and Catharine Höhns] and had spent the night at the home of Christian Frey.

Aug. 26. Last Sunday Christian Frey attended a Dunkard meeting, in which three persons were baptised.²

Sept. 7. Ludwig Möller was returning from Salem when he met several soldiers. When he saw them he ran back, they called to him to stop, but he neither answered nor obeyed, and they fired after him, two bullets passing his head and landing in a tree.

Oct. 31. We visited the widow Peddicord, to her great joy. Things are going well with her, she expects to make 40 barrels of corn from seven acres, and also has much cotton.

Dec. 8. My wife visited Liesel Walk. There she heard that day before yesterday, in the twilight, there was a curious phenomenon in the sky, a flame of fire, from which great balls of fire fell at various places. One of these fire-balls fell in Peter Frey's yard, near his pump, just as one of his children was drawing water; the child fainted from fear, and was nearly beside herself afterwards.

Dec. 26. The single man Cornelius Schneider visited me, and asked that his recent betrothal to Anne Maria Ebert might be announced for the first time next Sunday, and the second and third times on the Sunday following.

² "Ein Tuncker Versammlung wobey 3 Personen getunckt worden."

Marshall's Visit to Georgia.

Charlestown, Feb. 25, 1775.

My tenderly beloved Br. Graff,—

As Br. Bagge plans to set out on his return tomorrow morning, I take advantage of the good opportunity to send tenderest greetings to you and all other Brethren and Sisters, and also to tell you something of our journey so far, since I feel sure of your interest therein.

It was wet and unpleasant when we left Christian Frey's, but as we were in a covered wagon our concern was more for the Brn. Utley and Wallis, who had to return home without protection. The first and the second nights we slept in the wagon, as we did also the last three nights before reaching Charlestown; the rest of the time we slept under our tent. Several times the teamsters suffered a good deal from wet and cold, but when we became accustomed to the gypsy life we found it much more endurable than we had anticipated. Our teamsters showed us all love, not only Adam Elrod and Heinrich Hauser, who were our companions, but also Heinrich Spoenhauer and Schemel, who had the other wagon; and I must say that they did all in their power to serve us, as we also did for them.

The Santee ford was difficult to pass, dangerous indeed. Br. Bagge went by the new ferry; that road is several miles longer, but good, and has fine bridges.

Yesterday we took our meals with Dr. Eusebius, who was most affectionate. He is old, and expressed the wish that his remains might rest among the graves of pious Christians, but I did not know what advice to give him. Here he is supplied with the necessaries of life.

I also called on Col. Laurence, who received us kindly, and at once offered to take us with him to Georgia; but he is going to Sunbury, and it would take longer and be more expensive for us from there than from here. So today we have made a contract with the Captain of the schooner which took the Brn. Müller and Wagner, charging them £10: apiece; he will land us on the South Carolina side of the River, for the schooner dare not sail to Savannah itself. The Brethren were kindly received by John Graham, Esq., who was sending them on to Knoxville, where a house has been cleared out for them. Their last letters, however, were from Savannah. Mr. Habersham was also friendly. It looks as though they would be permitted to preach the Gospel on many estates. Mr. Knox has selected a piece of land, and if they wish they may take all or half of it, and build there; whether they shall do this will be decided when I get there.

Whether we sail tomorrow or the day after depends on wind and weather, for they do not sail unless the wind is right, and then can make it from bar to bar in eight hours, as the last company did. They have to spend two nights on board, however, in order to go up the river and down again. The distance in a direct line is 120 miles, but by land one must go as far around as by water.

A ship is scheduled to sail for London the 10th or 15th of March, but whether I will be back in time to take it I do not know.

I may add that we are both quite well. The little rest here is welcome, before we go further, but it is the kind of rest we do not want for too long, as my wife will feel particularly while I am away.

Beyond those mentioned I have called on no one. Mr. Hawkins, a merchant, who has been in Bethlehem, [Pa.] and in Fetter Lane Chapel [London], has invited me to visit him. He has a real love for the Brethren. Br. Bagge does much business with him.

I know nothing else to add this time, except to send heartiest greetings to all Brethren and Sisters in all our towns, and to ask for their love and prayers, even as we remember them. We send special greetings to the Aeltesten Conferenz and those who live in our house, to the ministers and Anna Johanna, to thee and thy dear family.

Your truly united in heart, Brother and Sister,
Friedrich and Elisabeth Marschall.

Our good Broesing greets all the Brethren, and especially his Choir.

Mr. Day seems to have no desire for the preaching of the Gospel to his negroes by our Brethren, but believes it should be done by ministers. I think we should do nothing more in the matter unless the Saviour opens the way.

[Filed with the next letter is a rather full report sent by Marshall of his visit to Savannah. To prevent repetition a few items are inserted in the letter, as indicated by brackets, and then longer paragraphs of the report are translated, which are not covered by the letter.]

Charlestown, March 21, 1775.

My tenderly beloved Br. Graff,—

We hope within the next days to again see wagons from your neighborhood, and my visit to Georgia is happily ended, so while we await the sailing of a ship to Europe I will employ the time in sending our greetings to the dear Brethren and Sisters in all our towns, and in giving an account of what has happened.

I have already reported part of what took place before Br. Bagge's departure, and the rest he will have told you. On March 3rd we went aboard the schooner, and landed at Savannah at noon on the 5th, after a quick passage.

I at once called on Mr. Graham, who is Mr. Knox's attorney, and also a member of the Council, and he presented me to the Governor. Then I went to see President Habersham. [He is President of the Council, and for a while was Governor; he is now suffering greatly from gout.] For some time he was out of humor with the Brethren, but has now again come to a good understanding. He is very fond of Br. Müller, [whom he calls *my dear son*]. He is a fine man, and an old friend of the Brethren; I could speak with him as with a brother or father, felt quite at home with him, and when I was in town I spent the evening with him. He has three plantations on the Ogeechee, and asked insistently that a Brother be sent thither to his more than two hundred negroes, and before I left the city the Saviour showed us that Br. Wagner should be sent there. Br. Müller is on Mr. Knox's plantation, fifteen miles from Savannah; most of his people are new negroes, some of whom do not understand a word of English. Br. Müller preaches to the negroes on Sundays, and Sunday afternoon he preaches to such white people as come in. Many Germans live there, but the name of Salzburger is lost, for many have died, and the rest have merged themselves with others. The ministers in Ebenezer are at outs with each other, and Mr. Mühlenberg had to come from Philadelphia to make peace between them. They have tried to keep our Br. Müller from preaching in the church near Knox's estate, (which was built by the subscription of German and English,) and he does not push himself in, though he is much esteemed and beloved by the people.

[Mr. Habersham was much annoyed with Mr. Mühlenberg, when he was there, because he tried to persuade Mr. Piercy not to allow Br. Müller to preach in the Whitfield Orphan House. Mr. Piercy is an English Minister, appointed by Lady Huntingdon as superintendent of the Orphanage;] he is Br. Müller's friend, and has had him preach there several times. Br. Müller has invitations to preach on a number of plantations, also.

Br. Broesing is working on the plantation with Br. Müller, where his trade makes him very welcome.

We have decided not to be in a hurry about building, which would undoubtedly cost a great deal, for everything in Georgia is reckoned in Sterling. We are all agreed to await further instructions from Europe.

Georgia is a great field, and I could give you a long list of plantations where Brethren would be permitted to preach,—from Sunbury to forty

miles south of Savannah, all along the Ogeechee, and up the Savannah on all the best plantations.

Mr. Whitfield's Orphan House has been burnt, but the wings and out-houses are standing. Lady Huntingdon is the chief benefactress, and has control of the property. Those personally in charge are all friendly to Br. Müller. It would be well for you to send a certificate to Br. Broesing, showing that he is a Brother,—so far he has had one from Br. Müller, who is accepted as a minister.

The Brethren are well, but would like to be in closer connection with Wachovia; I think there is a chance that letters can be sent by way of Pinetree or Augusta. I see no chance for getting Gemein Nachrichten except from Europe. They can be sent here to the care of Dr. Eusebius, on Church Street.

As the sailing of a ship was so uncertain I decided to take a horse and return [to Charlestown] through the country, which resembles Holland. In 127 miles there were two ferries, twelve bridges over navigable streams as large as the Main, the Multa or the Weser, and several hundred smaller bridges over canals.

When I returned I found that the discomfort from which my wife had suffered had turned out to be jaundice, but she was feeling much better. * * * *

In spite of much seeking and many attempts I have not been able to secure passage to Hamburg or Bremen, and have been forced to go on a ship sailing for London, and to accept the high cost, as we are not to furnish our own supplies. She is a New York ship, the *Duchess of Gordon*, Captain Campbell, which was returning from Jamaica, and was forced to run in here by a storm. She has beautiful accommodations. It is said that she will sail on April 4th, and this seems probable. While I should have preferred to sail sooner we have really not lost anything, for the weather has been stormy, and so unusually cold for the season that I should not wonder if your fruit was hurt, or completely frozen. * * * *

Your affectionate Brother and Sister,
Friedrich and Elisabeth Marschall.

Letter finished March 31st.

P. S. I have a small account to add. I have laid out for Br. Broesing

in Charlestown for meals in the tavern	9: —:—,
for taking his chest on board the boat.....	10:—,
expenses on board the schooner	10: —:—,
for bringing his baggage on shore in Savannah,	
food at the tavern, and for a cart	5: 16:—,

in South money £25: 6:—.

or £6: 5: 1½ North Carolina currency.

This amount shall be charged against the Collection for the Heathen, and shall be credited to my account on the Administration books, which will reduce my account there a little. Br. Meinung understands how to do it.

Extracts from Marshall's Report.

In Savannah there is an old, pious, Swiss preacher, Dr. Zubily, who has a large church, and preaches both in German and in English.

Mr. Habersham freely expressed his opinion as to building on Mr. Knox's estate. He was Mr. Knox's attorney, until he had to give it up on account of ill health, so he knew all the circumstances. He said Mr. Knox was a generous-hearted man, of good intentions, but what would we do with a building there? We had two adjacent lots in Savannah, where we could build, and a handicrafts-man could easily find work in the city. The lots are valuable, worth about £100: Sterl. each; and a man would like now to build on one of them, and would pay £10: Sterl. rent. He had refused to answer the man until he had order from the owner. * * * I asked Mr. Habersham to hold the matter open for a year, so that I could get instructions from the owners.¹

On the 7th Br. Broesing's chest was sent to Mr. Knox's estate in a cart. Br. Müller came for us with a couple of riding horses, and we were glad to see each other. Mr. Knox's estate lies fifteen or sixteen miles from Savannah, and a long way back from the river; it can be reached, however, through a wide creek, from which the rice fields are watered, for the tide is felt some miles further up the Savannah River; though it is no longer salt water at the city of Savannah, which is twelve miles from Cocksmere, and that is quite a distance from the sea. This estate was the land formerly known as Goshen, and occupied by Germans, of whom a number still live in the neighborhood. There are many Germans in Savannah, and all through the country as far as Ebenezer, which is fifteen miles from the Knox estate. The Salzburger name is quite forgotten, since many have come from Würtemberg, and have mixed with them. Mr. Knox has bought his entire estate in fifty-

¹ The story of these Savannah lots is given in full in *The Moravians in Georgia, 1735-1740*, by Adelaide L. Fries.

acre lots, paying £7: or £8: Sterl., or thereabouts, apiece. The dwelling houses have fallen into ruins, and some of the fields have been abandoned, the rest having been turned into rice fields. It is one of the newest rice plantations (530 barrels), and has more than 100 negroes, mostly recently bought Guinea negroes, some of whom do not understand English, or even the language of the other negroes.

The dwelling-house (40 by 19 feet) contains a large front room or parlor, and two small rooms, one occupied by the Overseer, and the smaller by Br. Müller. As Mr. Knox only owns the negroes and the horses, and everything else on the plantation belongs to the Overseer, the Brethren Müller and Wagner could not do their own housekeeping, but must board with the Overseer, and the attorneys Graham and Hall pay the Overseer 7 shillings Sterling per week. Br. Wagner, Br. Broesing, and all the baggage of the Brethren, are in another house, of which half is the kitchen, and one had to pass through the store-room to get to their room. Through the knot-holes one could see all that went on in the kitchen. I slept with Br. Müller. Cramped as the quarters are, the Overseer has given up more than he could well spare, and we had to decide whether to build or not. We discussed it for an entire day, * * * and finally decided to send our report to the Brethren in Europe, and meanwhile make the best arrangements we could.

Before leaving the subject of Mr. Knox's estate, I should mention that Br. Müller has begun to preach to the negroes each Sunday, in the sheds near the rice machine; and in the afternoon he preaches to white people in Mr. Knox's house, and is beloved. Br. Wagner reads English well, and begins bravely to speak it, right or wrong, and I hope he will soon master it. He has read once in our meeting, and is beginning a reading school for the children. Br. Broesing understands everything, but is shy about speaking. The Overseer means well, and likes Br. Müller, and says so everywhere, in town and country. As the horses are not busy in summer the attorneys have ordered that Br. Müller have one whenever he wishes.

As we had nothing to do in town on Sunday we decided to use our horses and go to see Bethesda, the place where the well-known Orphan House stands, twelve miles south of Savannah. We passed through the plantation,—three miles from Bethesda, but belonging to it,—where we saw seventy negroes, well provided with houses, food, and clothing. As we approached Bethesda, Mr. Piercy saw us through a window, recognized Br. Müller, and sent his brother to ask him to come in and preach. We entered, and he offered a prayer and gave out a hymn, then came down from the pulpit, which was four steps high, and conducted Br. Müller thither; and Br. Müller preached with a burning

heart. After the meal I went with Mr. Piercy into the town and heard him preach in the German Lutheran Church. He is an able man, and preaches with feeling.

On the 13th Br. Wagner came to the city, and it was decided that Br. Wagner should go to Habersham's plantation, and Br. Müller and Broesing remain on the Knox estate. Br. Müller will preach on Sundays to the negroes and to the whites, and sometimes teach school. He will have free board and lodging from Mr. Knox, but is not bound to remain there if he wishes to go to other estates. Br. Broesing will work at his trade² on the Knox estate. Br. Müller will preach every other week on Mr. Habersham's plantation, which is sixteen miles from Knox's, and about eight from Savannah. Time will show whether he could be more comfortably quartered than at Mr. Knox's, and the matter can be freely discussed with Mr. Habersham. When these decisions were reported to the attorneys they appeared to be well satisfied.

A gentleman, Mr. Darling, probably a Dane, has recently come from St. Croix, and has brought three Moravian negro carpenters with him. He was not in town, so I could get no further particulars from him, but it is reported that he says the Moravian negroes are sold at a high price. Forty miles from Savannah he has laid out a new plantation, on which he intends to use them. When Br. Müller is on Habersham's plantation he will make a visit there to see him.

As no ship was sailing I had to hire horses, and leaving Savannah on March 16th made an expensive trip by land, which gave me opportunity to see the country. I reached Charlestown on March 19th.

As the mission in Georgia cannot be continued without married Brethren and Sisters I would mention that before we left Br. and Sr. Fritz, of Salem, repeated their willingness to serve the Lord among the negroes. It seems that Georgia will have to be a separate undertaking, for it is too far from Wachovia,—can get letters more often from Europe.

London, May 30, 1775.

My tenderly beloved Br. Graff,—

I hope you have received the letter I sent on April 1st, so will now continue my recital. After Matthew Lock's wagon left nothing of importance happened, except that the sailing of the ship was postponed for various reasons, and not until the 11th of April did we go aboard. That day we sailed down the bay, and on the 13th, that is on Maundy Thursday, at six o'clock, we ran into the sea.

Our host and his family in Savannah treated us well, even as though we were relations, and his charges were moderate, and tears were shed

² He was a joiner.

as we said farewell. I spent much time with Eusebius. Col. Laurence was excessively polite, but it amounted to nothing more than that. The merchant Hawkins is not without spiritual strivings, and loves the Brethren, and served me in several ways. Owen is courteous, and willing to serve. James Laurence is much like Jacob Boehmish, not without religion, and a hypochondriac. He is minded to take a trip to Salem, for the sake of his health, and if he comes I ask that he be given friendly notice.

Now concerning our ocean voyage. I have already mentioned that the Saviour led us to take passage in the *Duchess of Gordon*, Captain Campbell. As the passengers were allowed to purchase their own provisions we saved £6: 10:— per person on the usual charge of 15 Guineas each. Captain and passengers carried themselves modestly, and the ship itself sailed most pleasantly, without great motion, so that we had nothing whatever of which to complain.

My wife had another attack of jaundice, worse than that in Savannah, which was still in evidence when we reached London, but she did not feel sick with it.

At first the wind was favorable, though so high that three times the *deadlights* had to be put in (that is, the shutters to the cabin port-holes), and in broad daylight we had to burn lights; but there was no accident, and on the 26th day we took soundings, and were at the entrance to the Channel, which is one of the quickest voyages that has ever been made. From there on the wind was contrary, in the Channel and up to London, which city we reached on May 20th, that is in five weeks and two days. The ship on which we first thought to sail, and which left before we did, has not yet arrived; indeed we passed every ship we sighted. * * *

We found a Hamburg ship preparing to sail, and plan to go with her today or tomorrow. * * * We found here Br. David Zeisberger, of Nazareth, [Pa.], a Deputy [to Synod], and also Br. Barth, so the coloring of Turkey Red yarn has come to an end in America. They have gone across with the packet boat, and others will soon follow. * * * The Single Sisters in Bethlehem have sent a beautifully made gift, to be presented in the name of their leaders to the Queen and Princesses;—Br. Hutton will attend to the presentation. * * *

Your tenderly affectionate Brother and Sister,
Friedrich and Elisabeth Marschall.

SPECIAL BONDS, 1772-1776

[Editorial.]

The following Special Bonds were given to James Hutton and his Attorney, Frederic William Marshall, as guarantee that the land covered by their fee simple Deeds, of even date, would not be sold without giving Hutton and Marshall the option of buying it for the Unity of Brethren.

1772, June 17th, Philip Rothrock, of Manchester Township, York County, Pennsylvania, Yeoman, 200½ acres and 20 poles.

June 18th, Peter Rothrock, Yeoman of Wachovia, Rowan County, N. C., 265 acres, deeded to him by Philip Rothrock.

Dec. 7th, James Douthid, of Wachovia, in Rowan Co., N. C., Yeoman, 216½ acres and 21 poles.

1773, March 5th, Jacob Greter, of Wachovia, in Surry County, N. C., Planter, 310 acres.

March 25th, Jacob Schott, of Wachovia, Planter, 200 acres.

March 25th, George Frey, of Wachovia, Blacksmith, 200 acres.

May 28th, Jacob Beroth, of Wachovia, Joiner, 216 acres.

June 1st, Martin Ebert, of Manchester Township, York County, Pa., Yeoman, 964 acres.

June 3rd, Martin Ebert, of Manchester Township, York Co., Pa., Yeoman, 640 acres.

1774, Sept. 29th, Traugott Bagge, of Salem, N. C., Merchant, 2000 acres.

Sept. 29th, Jacob Hine, of Wachovia, Planter, 150 acres.

Sept. 29th, John Jacob Kapp, of Wachovia, Grist-miller, 300 acres.

Sept. 29th, John Frederic Küntzel, of Wachovia, Planter, 200 acres.

Sept. 29th, Elisabeth Wolf, widow, and John Adam Wolf, her son, Administrators of the Estate of the late William Adam Wolf, of Wachovia, Carpenter, 200 acres.

1775, Sept. 29th, John Schaub, Jr. of Bethabara, Planter, 200 acres deeded to him by Lewis Leinbach.

1776, Sept. 28th, Benjamin Leinbach, of Wachovia, Planter, 200 acres deeded to him by Lewis Leinbach and Anna Barbara, his wife.

Sept. 28th, Michael Rank, of Bethania, Planter, 400 acres, deeded to him by Benjamin Leinbach.

There is also a Contract between John Leinbach and Jacob Dietz, dated Sept. 4, 1775, which arranges for the exchange of the lands owned by the two parties. John Leinbach sold Dietz his 400 acre tract on Muddy Creek, two miles above Bethania, valued at £400: lawful money of North Carolina. In exchange Dietz sold Leinbach the tract on which he was living, on Ellis Creek, valued at £115: together with certain "cattles and sheeps," which "two honest men" were to appraise after Dietz had cared for them over winter, also a black mare, six years old, also one iron stove, and the remainder was to be paid on time. On the cover of the Agreement is a note to the effect that possession of the paper meant that the heirs of Jacob Dietz, when grown, were obligated to give a proper Bond.

The above Bonds show the way in which control was kept over the type of men who might own land in Wachovia.

PART IV

THE BAGGE PAPERS

[In the year 1912 the Salem Archives were being moved to other rooms, and one day the Editor of this volume came across a package, tied up in newspaper, which looked as though it had not been opened for many years. On examination it proved to be a collection of letters and papers relating to the Revolutionary War, no doubt collected by Traugott Bagge at the time, and certainly used by him in the preparation of his Sketch of the war years to 1779. The newspaper wrapper was a copy of the *Pennsylvania Journal and the Weekly Advertiser*, number 1717, Nov. 1, 1775, containing as its first page article the Proclamation of Gov. Josiah Martin, of Aug. 8, 1775, referring among other things to the "infamous publication in the *Cape Fear Mercury* importing to be resolves of a set of people stiling themselves a Committee for the County of Mecklenberg"; containing also "A Proclamation, by the King, for suppressing Rebellion and Sedition"; extracts from the proceedings of the Provincial Congress at Hillsborough, N. C.; and letters and war news from a number of other places, together with a number of advertisements of the usual type of that day, though odd enough when read now. The letters and papers in this package throw so much light on the men and incidents of the Revolution that they are here printed in full, except the few of which copies were kept in the Provincial Archives and which have therefore been printed in the *Colonial Records* of North Carolina.]

I.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE TOWN OF NEWBERN, AND COUNTY OF CRAVEN, MAY 31, 1775.

[Printed in English.]

CIRCULAR LETTER to the several COMMITTEES of this Province.

GENTLEMEN,

We herewith transmit you a Copy of the Proceedings of our Committee, hoping they will meet with your Approbation, and that you will think it necessary, in these Times of general Danger, to adopt something of the like Nature for our common Safety and Defence. We think it necessary, upon this Occasion, to inform you, that Association Papers have been circulated through this County (supposed under the Direction of the Governor, as they are in the Hand-Writing of his

Private Secretary) with a direct View to draw off the People from the Cause of Liberty, and to create in them Suspicions and Jealousies of all those who openly declare in Favour of Freedom. Some few very ignorant People in this County were by the Artifice of our Enemies drawn in to subscribe such Association; but we have the Pleasure to acquaint you that they have been since convinced of their Error, with indignation tore off their Names, and now look with Horror on the Trap that was laid for them. If any such Papers have been circulated in your County, we doubt not they will, through your Vigilance, be easily and suddenly put a Stop to.

We also transmit you a letter from *Charlestown* Committee, which was sent to the several Committees in that Province, for the better Information of the People at large; which explains and sets in a clear Light the real State and Nature of the present Disputes between *Great-Britain* and *America*, in which this Province is involved as well as the rest. It is, we think, the Duty of the several Committees to inform the People of their Danger. We remain most respectfully, Gentlemen,
Your obedient Servants, etc.

In the COMMITTEE at NEWBERN, MAY 31, 1775.

WHEREAS it appears by Letters from the Committees of Correspondence in *New York* and *Philadelphia*, and by the Public Papers, that all Exportation to *Quebec*, *Nova Scotia*, and *Newfoundland*, or any part of the fishing Coasts or Islands, is suspended:

Resolved, That the above Measure be recommended by the Committee to the Merchants and Inhabitants of this Town and County; and that from this Time no Provisions, or any other Necessaries, be sent from this Port to the Army or Navy at *Boston*, unless otherwise directed by the Continental Congress.

WHEREAS having received certain Intelligence that a most bloody and barbarous Action hath lately been committed by the Army under General *Gage* on the Inhabitants near *Boston*, whom they unmercifully fell upon and murdered in cool Blood, and without Provocation, as they marched through the Country, having no regard to Age, Sex, or Infirmary; at the same time ravaging the Country, burning, destroying, and laying all waste wherever they came, until at length they were met by a few Companies of Provincials, who then thinking themselves justified by all the Laws of God and Nations, took up Arms in the immediate Defence of their Lives, and by a manly Exertion of that brave Spirit

which a good Cause never fails to inspire, they, though greatly their Inferiors as to Numbers, providentially put a Stop to their destructive Career, and forced them to retreat with Precipitation and much Loss, for near 20 Miles, to their fortified City of *Boston*, which unhappy devoted Place the Army now consider as their own Property, in open exclusion of the right Owners.—From all which it manifestly appears that the *British* Ministry mean no longer to receive the peaceable Addresses of the much injured People of *America*, on the Subject of their invaded Rights; but are determined, since they will not voluntarily make a total Surrender of their Freedom and Constitution, to wrest it from them by the brutal Hand of Violence. The People of America are therefore now driven to this fatal Extremity—either they must tamely submit to Slavery, and agree for themselves and their Posterity forever, to work for and maintain, with the Sweat of their Brows, their proud Masters and Overseers, the ministerial Pensioners, Placemen, and Hirelings, of every Denomination whatever; or they must resolve firmly and manfully to maintain those Rights, which God gave, and the Constitution warrants. The latter Resolution our Sister Colonies have unanimously adopted, and accordingly have now in the field not less, from the best Accounts we have received, than 25,000 Men, well disciplined, and equipt with a large Train of Artillery and every Kind of military Implement necessary for immediate Action.

And whereas there is much Reason to fear, in these Times of general Tumult and Confusion, that the Slaves may be instigated and encouraged by our inveterate Enemies to an Insurrection, which in our present defenceless State might have the most dreadful Consequences; we therefore, induced by these most weighty considerations, do think it our indispensable Duty to take every Precaution that Prudence and Forethought can possibly suggest, so as to be prepared in Time against the worst Event that may happen. We therefore recommend it strongly to our Constituents, the Inhabitants of *Newbern* and *Craven* County, that they form themselves immediately into Companies, and nominate proper Officers to each Company; that such Officers, when nominated, use unwearied Diligence in instructing their respective Companies in the Use of Arms; and from Time to Time, as they shall judge expedient, that they shall send out Detachments to patrol and search the Negro Houses, and all other suspected Places within their several Districts, giving strict Orders to the Officer of such Detachment to seize all Arms and Ammunition found in their Possession, and to apprehend and carry before the next Magistrate all such Negroes as they shall find under Circumstances of Suspicion, to be dealt with according to Law.

The following Persons are appointed for the present to summon together the several Companies, viz. *Abner Nash, Lovick Jones, Richard Blackledge, Charles Crawford, Moses Almond, John Gray Blount, Lemuel Hatch, Nathan Bryan, Levi Dawson, Frederick Hargett, Francis Dillamar, Samuel Smith, Richard Nickson, and Thomas McLin.* And in order that the most perfect Union and good Understanding may prevail amongst the good People of this County and Town on Subjects of such Importance it is further recommended that the several Companies, so to be formed as aforesaid, do meet in their several Districts twice in a Month, if convenient, to advise and consult together how they may best act with united Force, in case of any sudden and dangerous Emergency.

Resolved, That the Proceedings of this Committee be printed and made public, with the printed Letter from the Committee of *South-Carolina* to the Inhabitants of their Province, explaining the real State and Nature of the present Disputes between *Great Britain* and *America*.

A CIRCULAR LETTER to the COMMITTEES in the several Districts and Parishes of SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHARLESTOWN, APRIL 27, 1775.*

GENTLEMEN,

The General Committee thinking it of the highest Importance that the Committees in the interior Parts of the Colony, and that, through them, the People at large, should from Time to Time be informed of all such Affairs and Transactions as have any Relation to the American Cause; they have for the Management of so necessary a Service nominated a Committee of Intelligence.

We are very sorry that at our entering upon that Service we are to announce to you that there is but little Probability of deciding the present unhappy Public Disputes, by the pacific Measures we have hitherto pursued. However, even this Circumstance, we hope, will be of Service to our Cause; for we have no Doubt, but that the Ministry having thus turned a deaf Ear to the Complaints of the Colonies, these will be confirmed in their Resolution to complain in a louder Tone, and be ANIMATED to meet those Difficulties and Dangers they can now no longer avoid, with Honour to themselves, and Safety to their Liberties.

On the 9th of *February* the two Houses of Parliament addressed the King. In Substance, they declared to His Majesty that *America* was in a State of actual Rebellion; they desired the King, by all possible

Means, to enforce the late Acts of Parliament against *America*; and they assured him that in such a Measure they would support him with their Lives and Fortunes. The King acquiesced, and some Days after desired from Parliament an Addition to his military Forces—it was granted without Hesitation. In consequence of these Measures, Reinforcements of Troops and Ships are ordered to *Boston*; where, when they shall be arrived, General Gage may have under his Command about 10,000 Men. But *what are 10,000 Men against THE UNITED POWERS OF AMERICA!*

Amidst this Gloom, some Rays of Light break in, and cheer us in this Extremity of Affairs. The City of London has declared in our Favour; in a few Hours, some of her Merchants subscribed 26,000 1. Sterling for the Relief of *America*, and public Subscriptions for the same Purpose are industriously promoted. *London*, and other considerable Towns, have petitioned Parliament, and continue to exert themselves vigorously in our Behalf. The most illustrious Noblemen, and the most eloquent Orators, are loud in our Defence. The Friends of Liberty in *England* look with Horror upon the late Address to the King; they term it a cruel and unjust Declaration of War against *America*. In short, the whole People of *England* are alarmed at such a Measure, and look to the Virtue of the *Americans*, to preserve even the Liberties of *England* herself, now almost annihilated by Corruption. The Ministry are irresolute, and nothing can be more fluctuating than their Counsels; they resolve one Thing one Day, and the contrary the next. But, from such a Conduct, this evident Truth results; *they are utterly at a loss what Measure to pursue*—a Dilemma, without Doubt, arising from a *Consciousness of the Iniquity of their Schemes*. Hence, we may still justly entertain flattering Expectances; for, where there is not any regular and connected System of Operations formed, Artifices fabricated for the Purposes of the Day, must from Time to Time afford Circumstances improvable to our Advantage.

The Ministry themselves seemed frightened at their own Declaration of War; they grew doubtful of the Event of military Operations; and fearing the combined Force of *America*, they turned their Thoughts to Strategem. In a few days they formed a Plan, calculated, as Lord *North* openly declared, to DISUNITE the *Americans*; and, on the 20th of *February*, only eleven Days after the Declaration of War, his Lordship suddenly introduced it into the House of Commons. He termed it a conciliatory Plan, and it is to the following Purpose: “That if the Colonies will tax themselves *in such Proportions*, as shall come up to the Idea that a venal Parliament MAY CHOOSE TO ENTERTAIN of their respective Abilities; and also tax themselves to *such an Amount*, and at

such Times as shall be AGREEABLE to *Parliament*; and consent that this general *American Tax* shall be ENTIRELY at the DISPOSAL of a corrupt *Parliament*; and also provide for their civil Government in such Manner as shall be SATISFACTORY to *Parliament*; that is, to make permanent and profitable Establishments for all the ministerial Tools Administration may chuse to send among us; then, while the Americans shall be thus SERVILE, *Parliament*, that is THE MINISTER will "FORBEAR" to lay any Tax upon them.

But, Gentlemen, surely ALL THIS is nothing more or less, than lying at the Mercy of *Parliament* EQUALLY AS BEFORE. For you must have observed, EVERY PARTICULAR is to DEPEND ENTIRELY upon the PLEASURE OF PARLIAMENT; that is, in FACT, upon the PLEASURE of THE MINISTER.

Of late Years they taxed us to what Amount, and at what Time they pleased; and this, to raise a Revenue in order to preserve themselves from paying so large a Tax as otherwise they would be obliged to contribute; and also to be able to give comfortable Salaries to their Dependents, sending them to *America*, without the least care of examining whether or not they are proper Men to fill those Offices which they are destined to hold. However, at length Administration finding that such a Mode of Taxation is no longer practicable; the Minister changes his Ground, in Hopes of imposing upon and over reaching the Americans. He comes into *Parliament*, and "demands" that we consent to tax ourselves at such TIMES, in such SUMS, and for such PURPOSES as shall be agreeable to *Parliament*—that is to himself. Without Delay, the *Parliament* register the Ministerial Edict, they presume not to alter one Word of it: How much happier are the People of *France* in their *Parliaments*—they are only required to register the Royal Edicts! Gentlemen, this Demand alone is an Affront to our Understanding; it is adding new Insult to old Injuries; indeed it comprehends Terms to which *America* never can submit, until her united Counsels shall decree, that it is no longer practicable to resist the iron Hand of Oppression. And remember, Gentlemen, that even at the Time the Administration offers such humiliating Terms to us, they do it with the Musket and Bayonet at our Breasts. For Lord North declares that this Offer must be looked upon as "a DEMAND"; and that he does not "mean in the least to suspend his military Operations by Sea and Land, until" the Americans shall "submit to his Laws." Is there any Difference between this Conduct, and that of a Robber, who, with a Pistol at your Head, demands your Purse, with a blustering Threat—*deliver, or I will blow your Brains out?* The Magnitude of the Crime constitutes the ONLY Difference.

You will observe, Gentlemen, that although *America* may tax herself, yet Parliament does not by any Means give up the Point of Taxation, the Object of our ten Years Struggle. No, they have determined, that so long as *America* will tax herself at such Times, in such Sums, and for such Purposes, as shall be agreeable to their Pleasure; *so long only* will they *graciously* "FORBEAR" to tax her. Lord *North*, in his Speech upon this Occasion, declares, "THE EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT OF TAXING *every Part of the British Dominions*, MUST BY NO MEANS BE GIVEN UP." He said, he did not mean to give up a *single Point*. He confessed, that he did not believe his conciliatory Plan would be agreeable to the Taste of the *Americans*, nor did he know "whether any Colony would come in upon these Terms"; but added his Lordship, *if only one of them consents*, "A LINK OF THE GREAT CHAIN IS BROKEN."

Here, Gentlemen, fix your Attention. The Minister confesses, he does not think his conciliatory Plan is calculated to compose the *American* Troubles and to restore the wonted Harmony between the Mother Country and the Colonies, which ought to be the grand Objects in a Minister's Contemplation; but his Lordship hugs himself in the Idea, that it is CALCULATED TO DISUNITE THE AMERICANS, and to break a Link in the great Chain on this Continent now formed, happily for us, as dreadfully for him, in Defense of *American* Liberties, and as a Barrier against Ministerial Tyranny, influencing and inducing Parliamentary Exactions.

The Minister's Politics evidently point out the Means of our Safety. *Let us unite every Effort to preserve this Chain*, and above all, let us with the utmost Circumspection guard THAT LINK entrusted to our Care; let us maintain it not only unbroken, but let us preserve it unsullied by the Breath of Treachery.

But should the *American* Combination be unfortunately broken, of which we have not the slightest Apprehension, by *this conciliatory Plan of Divison*; behold, Gentlemen, the probable Consequences. Each Province must then enter into a separate Negotiation with a distant Administration. A Province must send and make a Proposition, which, in all Probability, will receive no Answer until all the Provinces shall have made theirs. Then, after a long Negotiation with our Agents, the Minister will tell this and that Province, their Quotas of the Tax they offer are not equal to their Abilities; and that their Propositions for the Support of civil Government are not satisfactory, in this and in that Article. These Answers must be returned to the Respective Provinces; much Time will be requisite to form new Terms to undergo a new Course of long Negotiation in *London*, and to be exposed to new Ob-

jections. Perhaps, the Demands may be erroneously, or *designedly*, made *above* the real Abilities and Proportions of the respective Provinces. When, Gentlemen, can we expect a *satisfactory* Adjustment of our respective Quotas of a *Tax*, which it will be the Study of Parliament to screw up as high as possible, because, *the MORE they can make us pay, the LESS will be their Burden*: Nay, when can we expect even an *End* of a Negotiation, which it will be the Interest of Administration to procrastinate as long as possible! For, in the mean Time, having disunited the Colonies after *such a Struggle* as the present, they will be sensible there will not be any Danger of a new Resistance, and they will continue to tax us; they having only promised to “FORBEAR” WHEN our respective Propositions “SHALL BE APPROVED by his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament.” In short, if we DIVIDE, our Liberties are LOST; we shall lie totally at the Mercy of Administration, and be obliged to pay SUCH A TAX *as they please*; and that too, in the most ignominious Manner, because we should do it under evident Compulsion. Such a Conduct would prove our Minds to be weak; it would demonstrate that, Heroes in Words, we shrink at *but the Appearance of Danger*. We should be more abject than the most abject People we read of; we should be deemed *unworthy of the Name of Men*: History could not give an Example of so base a Conduct. The Inhabitants of *Europe, Africa* and *Asia*, have at various Times signalized their Love of their Rights and Liberties. There is scarce a State among them, but has declared this in Characters written with her own Blood; and whole Cities have voluntarily perished, rather than resign their Liberties. The Ruins of *Saguntum* in *Europe*, *Carthage* in *Africa*, and *Xanthus* in *Asia*, are glorious Monuments of Nations preferring Death to Slavery; and this is the Hour in which the Virtue of *America* is to be tried. And are the *Americans* less virtuous, less Lovers of Liberty, than the Rest of Mankind!—Three Parts of the World are now looking on, to see if the *Americans* are as bold, as heroic, as great in Deeds, as they have experienced them to be in Words. But if at this Time of Trial, three Millions of *Americans* shall hide their Heads because of the Appearance of ten Thousand Soldiers, *an American* must ever be a *Term of Reproach* among all Nations.

Shameful to our Reputation, and ruinous to our Affairs, as such a Conduct would be; we have the Pleasure to assure you that, from every Appearance on this Continent, we do not see any Room to think we run any risk of being exposed to such Consequences. Every Advice from the Northward informs us that their People are training to Arms. The neighboring Provinces of *North-Carolina* and *Virginia* have em-

bodied very considerable Forces, that are ready to march on the shortest Notice; and we have it from good Authority, that the four New England Governments alone have 25,000 Men in actual Pay, and ready for Action at a Moment's Warning, besides 20,000 more who are inlisted without Pay, and prepared to take the Field when called upon; and all this Force, exclusive of a well-trained Militia, who are resolved to defend their Liberties at the Hazard of their Lives. The Inhabitants of this Capital, and the neighboring Country, are equally determind; and are happy in finding that a similar Purpose prevails throughout the Province. In short, from every Appearance, we have the most sanguin Expectations that *America* will not be guilty of any Conduct in her youth, that she will be ashamed of in her maturer Age.

Notwithstanding Lord North's conciliatory Motion, which we have so fully observed upon, and upon the Principles of which his Lordship means to ground an Act of Parliament; yet, having already punished the Province of *Massachusetts Bay*, by the Violation of their Charter and the military Blockade of her Capital, the Town of *Boston*, Lord North proceeds in extending the Effects of his Vengeance. On the 8th of *March* a Bill passed the House of Commons, restraining the Provinces of *Massachusetts Bay*, *New Hampshire*, *Connecticut*, and *Rhode Island*, from fishing on the Banks of *Newfoundland*; and from exporting to any Part of the World, but "to *Great Britain*, or some of the *British* Islands in the *West Indies*." Thus, as these four Provinces have by the *American Association* contracted not to export to those Places, THEIR EXPORTS ARE TOTALLY STOPPED. And the Act further says, that into those Provinces shall NOT be imported any "Sort of Wines, Salt, or any Goods or Commodities whatsoever (except Horses, Victual, and Linen Cloth, the Produce and Manufacture of *Ireland*, and Goods for the victualling of his Majesty's Ships, and for his Majesty's Forces and Garrisons, or the Produce of the *British* Islands in the *West Indies*) upon any Pretence whatsoever, unless such Goods be shipped in *Great-Britain*, and carried directly from thence." Thus, as those Provinces are bound by the Association not to import FROM *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, or the *West Indies*, it is evident that their IMPORTATION in the Way of Trade is TOTALLY PREVENTED. If the Blockade of *Boston* alone ROUSED the whole Continent to their Rescue and Support, HOW VIGOROUSLY ought we to exert ourselves, now that four entire Provinces are blockaded by an Act of Parliament, and CUT OFF FROM ALL MANNER OF TRADE! And, Gentlemen, remember, this violent Measure has been executed since the Introduction of Lord North's conciliatory Motion.

This arbitrary Conduct on the other Side of the Water has driven the People of this Capital, and the neighboring Country, TO DESPAIR of a Re-

dress of American Grievances, without an EFFUSION of AMERICAN BLOOD—OF THIS they are virtuously willing to contribute their Quota, and even *more* than their Proportion, to procure *this invaluable Relief*. These Advices arrived on the 14th and 19th Days of this Month; and on the Night of the 21st Inst. the Public Armory and Magazines were opened, and a considerable Quantity of Arms and Ammunition were taken, without Doubt, for the Ends for which they were originally procured—THE PUBLIC SAFETY.

Last *Wednesday*, the 26th Instant, the General Committee passed a Vote, that the Provincial Congress be summoned to meet in *Charlestown* on *Tuesday* the 20th Day of *June*. We make no Doubt but that you will exert yourselves to give a general Notification of it, that the Congress may be as full as possible, as it is expected Affairs of the HIGHEST Importance will be the Subject of Deliberation.

ASSOCIATION.

We the Subscribers, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the County of *Craven* and Town of *Newbern*, being deeply affected with the alarming State of this Province, and of all *America*, do resolve that we will pay all due Allegiance to his Majesty King GEORGE the Third, and endeavour to continue the Succession of his Crown in the illustrious House of *Hanover*, as by Law established, against the present or any future wicked Ministry or arbitrary Set of Men whatsoever. At the same Time we determine to assert our Rights as Men; and sensible that by late Acts of Parliament the most valuable Liberties and Privileges of *America* are invaded, and endeavoured to be violated and destroyed, and that under *God*, the Preservation of them depends on a firm Union of the Inhabitants, and a steady spirited Observation of the Resolutions of the General Congress; being shocked at the cruel Scene now acting in the *Massachusetts Bay*, and determined never to become Slaves of any Power upon Earth, WE do hereby agree and associate, under all the Ties of Religion, Honour, and Regard for Posterity, that we will adopt, and endeavour to execute, the measures which the General Congress, now sitting in *Philadelphia*, may conclude on, for preserving our Constitution, and opposing the Execution of the several arbitrary and illegal Acts of the *British* Parliament; and that we will readily observe the Directions of our General Committee for the Purposes aforesaid, the Preservation of Peace and good Order, and Security of Individuals and private Property.

II.

IN CONGRESS

MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1775.

As the GREAT GOVERNOR of the WORLD, by his supreme and universal Providence, not only conducts the course of nature with unerring wisdom and rectitude, but frequently influences the minds of men to serve the wise and gracious purposes of His providencial Government; and it being, at all times, our indispensable duty, devoutly to acknowledge His superintending Providence, especially in times of impending danger, and public calamity, to reverence and adore his immutable Justice, as well as to implore his merciful Interposition for our deliverance.

THIS CONGRESS, therefore, considering the present critical, alarming and calamitous state of these Colonies, do earnestly recommend, that THURSDAY, the *Twentieth* day of *July* next, be observed by the INHABITANTS of all the English Colonies on this Continent, as a day of public HUMILIATION, FASTING, and PRAYER, that we may, with united hearts and voices, unfeignedly confess and deplore our many sins, and offer up our joint supplications to the All-wise, Omnipotent and Merciful Disposer of all events, humbly beseeching Him, to forgive our iniquities, to remove our present calamities, to avert those desolating judgments with which we are threatened, and to bless our rightful Sovereign King GEORGE the III^d. and inspire him with wisdom to discern and pursue the true interest of all his subjects,—that a speedy end may be put to the civil discord between Great-Britain and the American Colonies, without further effusion of blood,—and that the British nation may be influenced to regard *the things that belong to her peace, before they are hid from her eyes*,—that these Colonies may be ever under the care and protection of a kind Providence, and be prospered in all their interests,—that the divine Blessing may descend and rest upon all our civil Rulers, and upon the Representatives of the people in their several Assemblies and Conventions, that they may be directed to wise and effectual measures for preserving the Union and securing the just Rights and Privileges of the Colonies,—that virtue and true religion may revive and flourish throughout our land,—that America may soon behold a gracious interposition of Heaven for the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of her invaded Rights, a reconciliation with the parent State, on terms constitutional and honourable to both,—and that her civil and religious Privileges may be secured to the

latest posterity. And it is recommended to Christians of all Denominations to Assemble for public Worship, and to abstain from servile Labour and Recreations on said day.

By Order of the Congress,
JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.

(*A true Copy,*)
CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

PHILADELPHIA: Printed by WILLIAM & THOMAS BRADFORD.

III.

To the COMMITTEES of the several Towns and Counties of the Province of NORTH CAROLINA, appointed for the purpose of carrying into execution the Resolves of the *Continental Congress*;

Gentlemen,

[The text of this circular can be found in the "Colonial Records of North Carolina," and need not be reprinted here.]

Philadelphia, June 19, 1775.

We are, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient, and
very Humble Servants,

[Autograph signatures.]

WM. HOOPER
JOSEPH HEWES
R. CASWELL

IV.

[Original Letter.]

To

Mr. Traugott Bagge,
Merch^t.

Care Salem.
Mr. Shobe.

Bethabara, 10th July, 1775.

Sir.

I recd. yesterday a Letter to the Committee of this County from Sam^l Johnson Esq. (Moderator), wherein he requests the Committee to summon the Freeholders to meet and choose five Delegates for s^d County to attend a General Convention to be held at Hillsborough the 20th of next Month.

I therefore as there is no Committee in our County have thought it would be proper that the People should be acquainted with what is Requested of them & have Inclosed an Advertisement, & hope you will make it as public as Possible.—

You will I hope be kind Enough to Inform Doctor Bonn of the same not Doubthing but it will be agreeable to you both to Comply with the Request & that you will give your Attendance agreeable to the Advertisement.

I Rec^d your Letter some time ago & shall Comply as fair as is in my Power at Court but hope if I should not at that time pay you as much as you Expect you will be Easy a little Longer as I am now on my way home from making a Purchase of the Clerks place of this County which will take near or Quite all the money I then can Command. If it suits I could furnish your Town with any Quantity of Beef at [illegible] hind Quarter & at 1½d the Rest.

I am Y^{rs}

Jo. WILLIAMS.

V.

[MS. Circular.]

Surry.

11th Aug. 1775.

Gent:

The present alarming distresses of America have induced the inhabitants of this County to chuse us their Deligates And the same distresses have induced us to nominate a Committee to meet and consult for our common peace liberty & safety.—You Gentlemen are nominated and we hope you will set in said Committee & Serve the Publick until the good people at large shall chuse others at least Two out of every Capt. Company

Our Bleeding Countrymen demand the utmost attention of every friend to this province and Continent

N.B. The Committee must
meet for the first time on the
25th Instant

J WILLIAMS
Ro LANIER
WILLIAM HILL
Jo WINSTON
MARTIN ARMSTRONG

DELEGATES

To Traugott Bagge
Jacob Blume &
George Houzar

VI.

[Copies of the replies to the above are filed with it; they are in Traugott Bagge's handwriting.]

Dobbs Parish, August the 24th 1775.

Gentlemen,

By a Letter from the Delegates of this County, bearing date the 11th instant, we have been desired to sit in the Committee appointed by those Gentlemen for the County, and are much obliged to them for the Confidence placed in us.

We and each of us will gladly serve the Public, whenever we can do it according to our Consciences; however beg leave to inform you, that taking Seats in the Committee is against our Consciences, as we do not carry Arms, and have had that Privilege granted us, previous to our settling here.

We shall nevertheless be found at all times bearing due allegiance to our sovereign Lord king George the Third; to be Well-wishers & Promoters of the Wellfare of the Province and County we live in, and never do any thing which shall hurt the Country.

We are with much Esteem

Gentlemen

Your very humble Serv^{ts}.

To the Committee
appointed for Surry
County.....

TRAUGOTT BAGGE
JACOB BLUM
GEORGE HAUSER

Salem August 24th 1775.

Dear Sir,

Your favour of the 10th instant, I duly rec^d & noticed the Contents. Shall give Mr. Kershaw notice thereof by first opportunity.

Inclosed a Letter to the Committee appointed for this County, w^{ch} I make free to desire you to deliver, and wherein I, Jacob Blum & George Hauser decline being Members thereof. I doubt not but our reason for it, will justify itself, & meet with yours and every Persons aprobation, who knows me & my Brethren as well & as long as you do, & I request your friendship in this & other similar Cases w^{ch} may occur, remain wth much regard

D^r Sir

To Col Martin Armstrong

Your very hble Serv^t

T. B.

VII.

[Original Letters.]

Dan River Sep^r. 22^d 1775.

Sir,

I am favored with yours by M^r Brooks and observd the Inhabitants &c are dissatisfied at being called & stationed at Salisbury, that the men do not list for that purpose—I am sincerely sorry that you have listed any person only to remain in Surry and not inform them that they belong to the Continental Army and may be called to Virginia South Carolina or even Boston, that they are not to be stationed at Salisbury, that they are to be embodied and to march to the Frontiers in the first place to learn the Motions of the Indians, that during this time they are to be trained in Arms, if no Danger to remain somewhere in Salisbury District until it is necessary to march elsewhere and not at Salisbury Town

As to a Commissary M^r Lanier is appointed, & Application must be had to him or M^r Joseph Williams but I do not think it necessary to keep the men you list in Richmond untill you compleat the Company they may go on Forlow untill the 1st of Oct^r when I expect you will be ready to march to Salisbury. if M^r Lanier and Williams decline acting victual then your own Company untill further Orders— As to Waggon M^r Lanier is obliged to find his own Waggon— and as to Baggage Waggon a Baut Horse must be sufficient for yourself, I shall make use of no more, as the Congress allowed none the men must carry their Blankets on their Backs— Should the men want any Necessaries please to apply to the Moravian Stores and you or I will see the payment when the money comes up—

I am much pleased with M^r Brooks, and will do anything in my power to serve him— I wish he would accept the Ensign's Commission should your Committee recommend him to the provincial Council, however the either of the other Gentlemen is agreeable— M^r Samuel Hunter of Beaver Island in this County is already appointed Sutler should he decline I shall have it in my power to oblige M^r Brooks—

Those men who cannot get guns cannot go without them, the extraordinary Sum of 53/4 p month was to encourage those to figt who had guns, they are to borrow if possible on the Terms I wrote to you. I am pleased to hear you recruit your Company fast I know not what hand your Lieut. here has made, however I shall attend at Campbell's on Monday next to meet a number of Recruits for you & Davison and shall inform you after that time— Your Brother Col. Armstrong de-

sires to know when the District Committee sits—I really cannot tell but I believe when the Minute Men are raised which Col. Wade will certify— I hope your County is going on with Expedition in that Service, two Companies of Minute Men may be raised in Surry.— enclosed I send you the Copy of a test which please to propose to the two Wrights, as I mean to shew as much Indulgence as possible to ignorant people I would have no man used ill— but Col. Wright & his Bro^r appear to be obstinate Enemies to their Country and its Liberties— if they sign this Test it is well,—if not I should be very sorry to treat either of them ill which I must be obliged by my Duty to do— on their Refusal please to certify to me,— also some others whom you know to be obstinate Enemies—but use every gentle measure with them.—

I am dear Captain

Captain John Armstrong

Your most obedient servant

ALEX. MARTIN

Sir

Capt. John Armstrongs Company is in want of Sundry Articles to acquip themselves as Soldiers to serve under him, If you think it safe to furnish them with such things as they may want & take me as pay. I do hereby oblige myself to pay for the same as soon as the money now in making shall be sent up If the above meets with your Approbation send me an acco^t of the same

I am y^{rs} &c.

ROB. LANIER

26 Sept^r 1775

To

M^r Jacob Fuckle

[Notation across end of page.]

M^r Bagge.

D^r Sir, I received this Order of M^r Lanier, but had not the Quality required, I thought proper to sent it to you.

I am Sir Yours &c

FOCKEL.

Sept 27th 1775.

[Postscript on reverse side of sheet.]

I am also in want of a Barrel of Whiskey for my own use If it should be apply'd for. Please send it & you shall have the money as soon as I return, & I hope to be obliged by you

I am Yours &c

R LANIER

26th Sept^r 1775.

To

M^r Jacob Fuckle.

Salem, Septbr 27th, 1775.

Delivered to me by Traugott Bagge for Col^l. Alex Martin & myself

70 y ^d Osnabrugs	a 2/	£7;—;—;
11½ y ^d russia Drill	a 4/	—; 6;—;
12 y ^d russia Duck	a 3/3.....	1;19;—;
1 String button Moulds	—; 2;—;	
10 Ounces Thread	a 6 ^d	—; 5;—;
		£9;12;—:

Jo. ARMSTRONG.

VIII.

[Copy.]

Surry, 3rd December 1775

Gen^l

Immediately on the reseption of your order for Lead I went to the Moravians Towns & after some time prevailed on them to let me have 200^{lb} which I was under the necessity of paying for at the rate of 10^d per lb, amountg to £8:6:8. The Lead will be sent by M^r Laniers Waggon

I am Gen^l yours &c
Jo WILLIAMS

[directed on the outside]

To Mess^{rs} Osborne & Rutherford
Rowan

A true Copy
Matthew Lock

IX.

[Preliminary draft, in English. A copy in German is filed with it.]

To the Honourable the House of Delegates apointed for a General Convention in the Province of North Carolina.

Or

To the Gentlemen Delegates apointed for Surry County in North Carolina.

Or

To the Gentlemen of the Committee apointed for Surry County in North Carolina.

The Declaration of The United Brethren settled in Wachovia and Dobbs Parish in Surry County North Carolina (most humbly) sheweth,

That the said United Brethren have been and will remain faithfull and loyal Subjects to our Sovereign Lord King George the Third, and bear due Allegiance to him.

That we love the Province of North Carolina in which we are settled, wish well unto it, and will in our small degree, as hitherto, endeavour to promote its Welfare at all times.

That we are a quiet conscientious People, and have settled in this Province, as others of our Denomination have done in Pennsylvania, and other American Provinces, upon the Strength of certain Privileges previously granted to the Unitas Fratrum or the United Brethren, which insure to them Quietness and Liberty of Conscience.

That one of the said Privileges is the Exemption from bearing Arms, [*written in ink but crossed out in pencil*,—and which to do the Conscience of any Member of our Community will not allow him.] That we the said United Brethren therefore can not burthen our Consciences with bearing arms in the present calamitous Circumstances of North America; but (humbly solicit and) expect to be consider'd in this Province of North Carolina with the same tender and brotherly Regard, which not long ago and in the like Circumstances the Honourable House of Assembly in Pennsylvania has earnestly recommended to the People of that Province, and with the contents whereof we most heartily close.

That we in no case whatever shall or will do anything that shall be detrimental to the good Province we inhabit.

That we will not cease to implore the Mercy of God Almighty to put a speedy Stop to the present Calamities, and make our and every Province in North America prosper by restoring a general Peace.

Signed this

Day of August, 1775, by

Your very humble & most obedient Servants

GLOSSARY

Administration: the local office for the business of the Unity as a whole, in contradistinction to the business of Wachovia and of the individual congregations.

Ältesten Konferenz: the Board of Elders. Originally the governing Board of Wachovia, but later concerning itself more particularly with the spiritual side of supervision.

Akoluthe: a layman or woman formally set apart for Church service, but not ranking with the regularly ordained ministry.

Arbeiter: literally "the workers," that is the ministers and their wives.

Armen Pfleger: the official charged with the care of the poor.

Aufseher Collegium: Supervising Board, that is the Board that cared for the material, the financial, interests of the congregation.

Beylagen: a manuscript, weekly, publication containing reports from the various Congregation of the Unity of Brethren. Its name indicates that it supplemented the Wöchentlichen Nachrichten.

Branches: Business carried on for the benefit of Salem Congregation Diaconie.

Choir: a division of the Congregation, which consisted of the Choirs of Married People, Single Brethren, Single Sisters, Widowers, Widows, Older Boys, Older Girls, Little Boys, and Little Girls. Also used in the modern sense for a company of singers; and for a group of players on wind instruments.

Daily Word: Old Testament Text for each day of the year.

Diaconie: the business organization of a Congregation or Choir.

Diaspora: a Greek word meaning "the dispersed,"—compare John VII, 35. Used to signify members and closely associated friends living outside the Moravian towns.

Diener: see Saal Diener.

Doctrinal Text: the New Testament Text for each day.

Fremden: literally "strangers"; in general all non-Moravian visitors.

Fremden Diener: the Brother appointed to look after visitors.

Gemein Haus: usually translated Congregation House. It contained the meeting-hall, rooms for the minister, etc.

Gemein Helfer: the Pastor of the Congregation.

Gemein Nachrichten: Unity News, the manuscript Moravian Church Newspaper of the period. The term included the Wochen, the Beylagen, and a little later the Reden, which see.

Gemein Ort: a Congregation Town, in which both religious and civil matters were under the control of the Congregation.

Gemein Saal: the Meeting-hall in the Gemein Haus, used by the Congregation.

Gemein Tag: Unity Day. There were generally several services given to the reading of the Gemein Nachrichten, which kept the Congregation in touch with the central Boards and with other Congregations of the Unity throughout the world.

Grosse Helfer Conferenz: an advisory Board of ex-officio and elected members; see Salem Diary, April 26th and 27th, 1772.

Jünger: "disciple," sometimes used for a certain officer in the Choirs, but often specifically for Count Zinzendorf.

Lovefeast: a religious service, founded on the "Agape," the "meal in common," of the early Christians. It is largely a song service, during which the members share a simple meal, usually buns and coffee. The idea is that all Christians are members of one family, of which Jesus Christ is the head, in token of which they break bread together, and sing and pray together. It is not limited to Communicants.

Ode: a series of appropriate hymns arranged for a special service.

Oeconomie: the common housekeeping and community of interest that made possible the remarkable achievements of the pioneer days in Wachovia.

Oeconomus: head of the Oeconomie; the chief executive of the Settlement.

Ordinarius: generally used as the equivalent of Presbyter or Priest, the second rank in the ordained ministry, and therefore usually the leading minister of the Congregation. Sometimes applied specifically to Count Zinzendorf.

Pfleger: (feminine *Pflegerin*) literally "one who takes care of" another, therefore the Pastor of a Congregation or the leader of a Choir.

Proc: Proclamation Money. See article on the Colonial Currency of North Carolina.

Psalm: see Ode.

Reader: In the Church of England (and the American Episcopal Church) a layman authorized to read the Services for a Congregation in the absence of an ordained minister. The term was used by the Moravians only while Wachovia was Dobbs Parish and the Church of England was the State Church of North Carolina.

Received, Reception: men and women were "received" into the Congregation, considered as an organization, sometimes quite a long time before they became Communicant members. See Minutes of Grosse Helfer Conferenz, Nov. 16, 1772.

Reden: copies of sermons sent out by the central Boards.

Saal: a hall in which religious services were held, either in a Choir House, Gemein Haus, or Church.

Saal Diener: Church ushers, sextons, sacristans. Both men and women served, as the sexes sat on opposite sides of the Saal.

Senior Civilis: a Moravian minister, ranking as a Bishop, but especially charged with the oversight of material interests of the Unity. The office no longer exists.

Singstunde: a Church service which consisted largely of singing.

Society: an association affiliated with the Brethren, and served by a Moravian minister, but not fully organized as a Moravian Congregation.

Speaking: the personal interview between pastor and member which preceded the Communion. It is no longer practiced.

Stundenbeter: members of the organization for Hourly Intercession, that is continuous prayer.

Syndic: a Minister of the Unity who represented it in negotiations with high officials of Government. The term is no longer used.

Texts: see Daily Word and Doctrinal Text. Together they constituted the Texts for the day.

Unitas Fratrum: the "Unity of Brethren." The official title of the Brethren's Church, though the title "Moravian Church" is officially recognized also in England and America.

Vorsteher (feminine *Vorsteherin*): the business manager and treasurer of a Congregation or Choir.

Wochen, Wöchentlichen Nachrichten: reports sent out weekly, in manuscript, by the central Boards of the Unity to the congregations in all parts of the world.

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